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MEMOIRS
OF
GENERAL LA FAYETTE,

EMBRACING

DETAILS OF HIS

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE,

SKETCHES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,
HE FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE DOWNFALL OF BONAPARTE, AND THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

WITH

Biographical Notices

OF INDIVIDUALS, WHO HAVE BEEN

DISTINGUISHED ACTORS

IN THESE EVENTS.

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DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, *ss.*

L. S.

Be it remembered, That on the First day of February, in the forty-ninth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Barber and Robinson of the said District, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit: "Memoirs of General La Fayette, embracing details of his public and private life, sketches of the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the downfall of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons, with Biographical notices of individuals who have been distinguished actors in these events." In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

A true copy of Record, examined and sealed by me,

CHAS. A. INGERSOLL,
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.

PREFACE.

THE present volume, though necessarily compiled in great haste, it is hoped will be found to comprise all that is necessary to enable the reader to form a just estimate of the Life and Character of General La Fayette. It was the opinion of the writer, that a bare detail of his actions, without bringing into view the circumstances under which they were performed, or the persons with whom he was associated, or to whom he was opposed, could not present any adequate grounds upon which to form an opinion of a character, who has been so conspicuous in the great movements of the last half century. It is obvious that the elevation of La Fayette's conduct in embracing the American cause, cannot be properly felt, unless we take into consideration the real state of the American struggle at the time—that we cannot comprehend the dignity with which he marched through the French Revolution, unless we are apprised of the fearful convulsions which shook every thing around him—and that we cannot assign him his comparative rank among the great men of the last age, without recollecting the long list of mighty names which have figured by his side. The writer has therefore hastily sketched the great public events in which General La Fayette has been concerned—and in some instances has gone so far as to add a few pages, for the sake of completeness, not directly connected with his Memoirs. In this course he has, perhaps, in some instances, rather consulted what he apprehended must be the feeling and interest of his readers, than strict rhetorical symmetry.

Those who feel that in this he has not judged right, and who desire simply a relation of events with which General La Fayette has been directly connected, can, by adverting to the Contents, select those portions of the work which relate to his personal concerns.

The writer has also extracted from Allen and Lempriere, and others, such biographical notices, as, according to his views, were desirable, and inserted them as notes.

Whatever temptation a writer may feel to dilate on a subject so fruitful in sources of reflection as this, the author has deemed it best in the present instance generally, to content himself with a simple relation of facts. They speak a language not to be misunderstood, and bear with them in the mind of the reader, every necessary commentary. The panegyrist of La Fayette, can do no better than tell what he has done.

On the whole, therefore, it is hoped that the work may satisfy the reasonable expectations of its patrons, and not only repay them by the interest of its details, but contribute something towards doing justice to one of the most interesting characters of this or of any other age.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL LA FAYETTE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF LA FAYETTE.

THE subject of this Memoir, Gilbert Mottie' Marquis de La Fayette, was born on the 6th of September, 1757, at the Chateau de Chavagnac. This Chateau is situated in the vicinity of Brioude, in the province of Auvergne, now the department of the Haute Loire, about 400 miles from Paris.

The name, La Fayette, has long been associated with the military and literary history of France. Marshal de La Fayette, one of the ancestors of the present General, was one of the most distinguished military men of his time, in France; and Marie Madeline La Fayette, another of his ancestors, was equally celebrated for her literary attainments.*

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*Maria Madeline, countess of Fayette, and daughter of Amyr de la Vergne, governor of Havre de Grace, is celebrated for her knowledge of literature and of the fine arts, and her intimacy with Rochefaucault and other learned men. She died in 1693. She wrote many works, which are still much esteemed. She is the first, says Voltaire, who exhibited, in her romances, the manners of people of fashion, in a graceful, easy and natural way.—*Lempriere.*

At the early age of seven years, the subject of this memoir was sent to the College of Louis le Grand, at Paris, where he received his education. He was afterwards made one of the pages of the Queen of France, and, under her patronage, rose to the rank of a commissioned officer,—a favour conferred only on the sons of noblemen.

In 1774, at the age of seventeen, he was married to the Countess Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the Duke de Noailles. The fortune of this lady, added to his own patrimonial estates, increased his income to about $10,000 annually; an immense revenue at that period, and probably equal to four or even five times the present value of that sum.

Thus settled in life, with one of the most amiable and affectionate of wives; having at command all the enjoyments which rank and wealth could procure, at a time when the gayest court in Europe was rendered still more brilliant by the then recent marriage of Louis XVI. to the celebrated Marie Antoinette; who could have conceived that an inherent love of liberty would induce him to quit all these gratifications, to risk his life, and spend his fortune, in the defence of a people, of whom he knew nothing, except that they were struggling for liberty and independence?

CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—CAUSES WHICH LED TO IT.

At this period of La Fayette's life, the dawning revolution in America attracted the attention of Europe. The unusual spectacle of feeble colonies calmly resisting the encroachments of royal despotism, excited sympathy in many generous breasts. Among these, was that of a youthful courtier, whose mind, naturally elevated, was at once roused from the dreams of courtly honour, and was ever after devoted to the cause of liberty. This was La Fayette;—we need, therefore, no apology for introducing a sketch of events, so interesting in themselves, as those which respect the American revolution; and which seem to have exerted a controlling influence in shaping his life and character.

After the peace of 1763 had been concluded between England and France, the counsels of Mr. Pitt, (afterwards Lord Chatham) being rejected, Lord Bute and his coadjutors were introduced into the British administration, under the auspices of King George the Third. A new system of colonial government was then contemplated, and a plan for raising a revenue in America was brought forward by Lord George Grenville, then at the head of the British finances. It was reported to parliament, and approbated by that body, and an act was accordingly passed for this purpose, in 1765, called the 'Stamp Act.' By this act, no instrument, act, or treaty, or note of hand, could be valid in law, unless written on stamped paper, on which a duty was paid to the government of Great Britain. This act received the royal assent, and was sent over to the American colonies, and ordered to be put in execution by 'Stamp officers,' who were appointed and paid by the officers of the British government residing here.

This arbitrary proceeding not only subjected the colonists to great expense, as every agreement between men was required to be written on paper, for which a duty was paid; but likewise, to delays and inconveniences, in consequence of not having such paper always at hand.

The colonists immediately opposed the execution of this act, and disallowed the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon them without their consent, and while they continued unrepresented in Parliament; taxation and representation, in their view, being inseparably connected by the British constitution.

The oppressive acts of the British Parliament had been, for many years, a cause of repeated remonstrances from the colonists; but the passage of the Stamp Act excited feelings of the utmost indignation and alarm. Combinations against its execution were every where formed. The assembly of Virginia immediately passed resolutions, declaring that no power, except that Assembly, had a right to tax the inhabitants of their colony. The Legislatures of several of the other colonies, passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia. At the same time, the people were exhorted to unite in the defence of their liberty and country, and the stamp officers were, almost every where, compelled to resign, or to submit to ignominy or insult. A petition to the King, and a memorial to each house of Parliament, complaining of these acts of oppression, was signed by Commissioners from several of the colonies, and sent to England. These were drawn up in such a manner as to express the attachment which the colonists felt to the mother country; but at the same time to assert their rights with firmness and energy.

At the time these transactions were taking place in America, the question of colonial taxation was warmly discussed before the British Parliament. Mr. Pitt, in his celebrated speech on the subject, concluded by recommending to the house, "that the stamp act be repealed, *absolutely*, *totally* and *immediately*;" while Lord Grenville, on the contrary, contended, that the right to impose taxation was the prerogative of the sovereign power, and that, in principle, there was no distinction between external and internal taxation. A majority of the administration concurred with Mr. Pitt, and the stamp act was repealed in March, 1766.

On the receipt of this intelligence, the joy that was felt universally among the colonists, was unbounded. Still there were other grievances experienced, which excited no inconsiderable dissatisfaction; among which was an act of Parliament subjecting the colonists to the expense of providing barracks, and other necessaries for his majesty's troops, whenever they were within the limits of any one of the colonies. This was laying a tax indirectly on the inhabitants, and was considered unjust, and therefore not binding upon them. When, however, a body of troops, under the command of General Gage, arrived at New York, the Legislature of that colony deemed it proper, so far to comply with the requisition of the act, as to consider it binding only when the troops were on the march, and not while they were in quarters. In consequence of this disobedience, Parliament passed a law, prohibiting the governor and council of the province from passing any act, until the requisition of said Parliament had been complied with in every respect.

In 1768, the General Court of Massachusetts took into consideration several acts of Parliament, which had been sent to the colony during their recess. From these acts, it was clearly seen, that the mother country was still determined, that her colonies in America should submit to taxation. The Assembly resolved to oppose the execution of these laws to the utmost of their power, and addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies, stating their proceedings. This letter was well received by the other colonies, and the measures of Massachusetts were adopted as the basis of resolutions by the other assemblies.

A copy of the Massachusetts resolutions having been transmitted to England, the Earl of Hillsborough, in reply, declared to the colony, that it was the king's pleasure, that the said resolutions should be rescinded. A general court being assembled, the question was put to the house, whether they would rescind their former resolutions, agreeable to the king's pleasure; and it was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen.

In September, of this year, General Gage* arrived in

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* Thomas Gage, the last governor of Massachusetts, appointed by the king, after the conquest of Canada, in 1760, was appointed governor of Montreal. At the departure of Gen. Amherst, in 1763, he succeeded him, as commander in chief of his majesty's forces in America. Being considered as the most proper person to execute the parliamentary laws, intended to subdue the rebellious spirit, which had manifested itself in Massachusetts, he was appointed governor of that province, and arrived at Boston, May 13, 1774. He was a suitable instrument for executing the purposes of a tyrannical ministry and parliament. Several regiments soon followed him, and he began to repair the fortifications upon Boston neck. The powder in the arsenal in Charlestown was seized; detachments were sent out to take possession of the stores in Salem and Concord; and the battle of Lexington became the signal of war. In May, 1775, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts declared Gen. Gage to be an inveterate enemy of the country, disqualified from serving the colony as governor, and unworthy of obedience. From this time, the exercise of his functions was confined to Boston. In June, he issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all the rebels, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and ordered the use of the martial law. But the affair of Bunker's hill, a few days afterwards, proved to him that he had mistaken the character of the Americans. In October,

Boston, with two regiments of British soldiers. The troops were landed under cover of two ships of war, and were quartered in the State House, which was guarded with two pieces of artillery, stationed in front of the house. All these transactions were exceedingly offensive to the inhabitants of Boston. It was in fact, garrisoning the town, and placing the inhabitants under martial law. The complaints of the people became loud and threatening, and anxiety and alarm pervaded all ranks. The General Court was again convened, and the Assembly petitioned the Governour to give effectual orders for the removal of his Majesty's forces, by sea and land, from the harbour and town of Boston. To this request, the Governour replied that he had no authority over his Majesty's ships in the port, or his troops in the town. The Assembly peremptorily refused to make any provision for the subsistence of the troops, for which purpose they were convened, and the Governour prorogued it, without any decisive acts having been passed.

In 1769, the Duke of Grafton, then at the head of the British administration, brought forward a proposition to repeal all the acts imposing duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies. This judicious measure, however, he was unable to carry into complete effect. The majority of the house of Parliament insisted on their right to tax the colonies, and it therefore became necessary, in order to maintain their legislative supremacy in America, that the tax should remain, at least, on one article. An act was therefore passed, to repeal the taxes on all articles, with the

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he embarked for England, and was succeeded in the command by sir William Howe. His conduct towards the inhabitants of Boston, in promising them liberty to leave the town, on the delivery of their arms, and then detaining many of them, has been reprobated for its treachery. He died in England, in April, 1787.—*Allen's Biograph. Dictionary.*

single exception of tea. But the colonists contended, that as a matter of principle, this act did not at all remove the cause of their complaints. It was not the *amount* of the tax, of which they complained, but the *principle* which the act in question recognized. If Parliament had a right to impose a tax on tea, this right must unquestionably extend to all other articles imported into the colonies. It was the *right* which the colonies denied, and which the British cabinet had determined to maintain.

Under these circumstances, the clamour of the people became loud and general. Associations were formed in several of the colonies; the members of which, voluntarily bound themselves not to make use of tea on any occasion, and merchants agreed not to import it. A spirit of opposition and discontent every where prevailed, and a direful conflict seemed to threaten in all directions.

In 1773, a discovery was made which greatly increased the public irritation, particularly in New England. Dr. Franklin, then in London, as agent for the colony of Massachusetts, obtained possession of certain letters written by Governour Hutchinson to the government of Great Britain.* These letters he trans-

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* The following account of the manner in which these famous letters were obtained, is extracted from Dr. Hosack's "Biographical Memoir of Hugh Williamson, M. D."

"Dr. Williamson had now arrived in London. Feeling a lively interest in the momentous questions then agitated, and suspecting that a clandestine correspondence, hostile to the interest of the colonies, was carried on between Hutchinson and certain leading members of the British cabinet, he determined to ascertain the truth by a bold experiment.

"He had learned that Governour Hutchinson's letters were deposited in an office different from that in which they ought regularly to have been placed; and having understood that there was little exactness in the transaction of the business of that office, (it is believed it was the office of a parmitted to the General Court of Massachusetts, over the colony of which, the author was at that time the Governour. The letters were obviously designed to induce the government of Great Britain to persist in the measures which had been adopted, and which were so highly offensive to the colonies. The opposition was stated to exist only among a few factious and turbulent men, whose conduct, it was intimated, was not generally approved.

The General Court was exceedingly exasperated by these letters, and resolved that their design was to overthrow the constitution of government, and to introduce into the province the exercise of arbitrary power. At the same time, a petition to the King was voted, praying his Majesty to remove Governour Hutchinson forever from the colony. On this petition, the British council reported, that it was founded on false allegations, and formed for seditious purposes; and that it was calculated only to keep up a spirit of clamour and discontent. Governour Hutchinson was, however, soon afterwards removed, and was succeeded by General Gage.

The time now approached, when some decisive act was to determine whether the colonies would submit to taxation, or, by a firm and united resistance, bid defiance to British authority.

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ticular department of the treasury,) he immediately repaired to it, and addressed himself to the chief clerk, not finding the principal within. Assuming the demeanor of official importance, he peremptorily stated, that he had come for the last letters that had been received from Governour Hutchinson and Mr Oliver, noticing the office in which they ought regularly to have been placed. Without any question being asked, the letters were delivered. The clerk doubtless, supposed him to be an authorized person from some other public office. Dr. Williamson immediately carried them to Dr. Franklin, and the next day left London for Holland."

Owing to the determination of the Americans not to import tea, and a pretty general understanding that its use would subject any person to aspersions, as an enemy to the liberty of the provinces, the demand for this article was so far lessened, that large quantities had accumulated in the ware houses of the British East India Company. This Company, under assurances from government, that they should sustain no loss by shipping teas to America, sent large quantities on consignment to merchants in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other places.

"The conduct of the colonies," says Marshall, "in this precise point of time, was to determine, whether they would submit to be taxed by the British Parliament, or meet the consequences of a practical application, to their situation, of the opinion they had maintained. If the tea should be landed, it would be sold, and the duties, consequently, would be paid; and it would form a precedent for taxing, the opposition to which, would, it was feared, become every day less and less. The same sentiment, on this subject, appears to have pervaded the whole continent at the same time."

In Charleston, the tea was landed, though with great opposition.

In Boston, at a large meeting of the citizens, it was voted, with loud acclamations, "that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms."

The captain of the vessel containing the tea, in Boston harbour, aware of the danger, applied to the Governour for a clearance; the meeting being warned of this circumstance, it was immediately dissolved, and a number of resolute men, dressed like Indians, boarded the vessel, and in two or three hours, broke open and threw into the water, three hundred and forty-two chests of tea.

These proceedings being reported to Parliament, excited great indignation in that body, and caused the passage of "An act for the better regulation of Massachusetts Bay." By this act, the nomination of magistrates, officers, or counsellors, was vested in the crown, and the persons so appointed, were to be continued in office during the royal pleasure. It was, in effect, a total subversion of the charter of the colony.

Another act, equally odious to the colonists, provided, that under certain circumstances, persons indicted for murder, or other capital crimes, should be sent to Great Britain for trial; thus abolishing the jurisdiction of the courts of the provinces, and making the crimes committed in one country, punishable only in another.

But the act at which the citizens of Boston were most indignant, was called the 'Boston Port Bill.' This bill was passed for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares and merchandize at Boston, or the harbour thereof, and for the removal of the custom house, with its dependencies to the town of Salem. This bill was to continue in force, until the tea, which had been destroyed, had been paid for, and until, in the opinion of his Majesty and his council, peace and order had been restored at Boston.

The people of Massachusetts, so far from showing any signs of submission to these unjust and impolitic acts, became louder in their tones of complaint, and more determined in their purposes of resistance. Resolutions were passed in Boston, on the injustice and cruelty of these acts, appealing from them to God and to the world, as judges of the equity of resistance. The same spirit was soon aroused in every part of the continent.

Propositions from several of the colonies, had been made, that delegates from each colony should meet at some convenient place, to take into consideration the alarming and distressed condition of the country, and to form resolutions making a common cause of all public grievances.

On the 4th of September, 1774, delegates from eleven of the provinces accordingly met at Philadelphia, agreeably to appointment, for this purpose.

A declaration of the rights of the provinces was drawn up, and passed in the form of resolves, by this Congress. "Affection to the mother country," says Judge Marshall, "an exalted admiration of her national character, unwillingness to separate from her, a knowledge of the hazards and difficulties of the struggle to be engaged in, mingled with an enthusiastic love of liberty, and of country; with a conviction that all which can make life valuable was at stake, characterize their proceedings." "We ask," say the Congress, "for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour; your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

These resolutions, in the form of an address, were sent to the mother country, and directed to the people of England. At the same time, a petition was sent to the king, giving a summary account of the grievances complained of, and containing a humble prayer that he would cause them to be removed. Letters were also addressed by the Congress to their constituents, and to the colonies of Nova Scotia, St. Johns, Georgia, and the Floridas. Having done all that the wisdom of men, and the firmness of heroes could have done, on such an occasion, this Congress dissolved itself, on the 26th of October, with a recommendation that another Congress should assemble, on the 10th of May following, at the same place. The proceedings of this Congress were read throughout the country, with the most marked admiration. Whatever they recommended, was immediately received by the people, as the law by which they were bound, and which the different colonies vied with each other in carrying most completely into effect.

The irritable state of public feeling at Boston was such, that General Gage thought it prudent to fortify Boston Neck for the security of his troops. About the same time, as governour of the province, he seized upon the stores of ammunition at Cambridge, and the magazines at Charlestown, both of which were provincial property.

These proceedings caused such a general indignation, that it was with difficulty the inhabitants of Boston were restrained from the commission of some very inconsiderate acts. People assembled in great numbers, and declared their readiness to march immediately, and demand the re-delivery of the stores. They were, however, fortunately dissuaded from so desperate an act.

Towards the close of the present year, (1774,) Governour Gage issued writs for the election of members for a General Assembly. But finding the disaffection so general, and the ferment every where so high, he thought it most prudent to countermand this order, lest a majority of the house should be found attached to the provincial interests. He therefore, by proclamation, recalled and annulled the writs he had previously issued. But to this proclamation, the electors paid not the least attention. The delegates were elected, met in assembly, and conducted the affairs of the province as if they had been legally invested with proper authority. They formed a plan for the defence of the provinces ; voted money ; provided for magazines, stores, and ammunition for several thousand militia, and enrolled a large number of minute men, whose duty it was to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

Notwithstanding all these preparations, there was a determination, on the part of the provincials, that their oppressors should force them to the conflict, which was every where expected. It was the settled understanding throughout New England, and more or less so, in all the provinces, that hostility should be repelled wherever it commenced; but that the provincials should hold themselves guiltless of the first blood shed.

The time was at hand, when the firmness of these resolutions was to be tested; and the commencement of hostilities at Concord, by a party of royal troops, served to show that the fixed purpose of the provincials to repel any hostile attack upon their rights, had not been made in vain.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.—BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

The provincials had collected a considerable quantity of military stores at Concord, a town situated about eighteen miles from Boston. On the night of the 18th of April, 1775, General Gage detached a party of eight or nine hundred men to destroy these stores; and, although this was done with the greatest secrecy, the country was in alarm, and the minute men and militia had begun to assemble at Lexington, twelve miles from Boston, when the detachment arrived there, at 5 o'clock in the morning. Major Pitcairn, who commanded the van, rode up to them, calling out "disperse, rebels, throw down your arms, and disperse!" At the same time, some scattering guns were fired by the royalists, which were immediately followed by a general discharge; and the firing continued, so long as any of the militia were in sight. The number of militia assembled was about seventy, of whom eight were killed, and several more wounded. The detachment then proceeded to Concord, and effected the object for which it was sent.

Meantime the militia had assembled in such numbers as to present more difficulties to the retreat of the royal party than were apprehended. They were harassed on every side. Skirmish after skirmish ensued, in which the regulars were generally worsted. Gen. Gage, aware that the expedition was not without hazard, sent out a reinforcement, which met the retreating party at Lexington. This timely assistance probably saved the party from being entirely cut off, or taken prisoners.

The number of British, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, in this action, was two hundred and seventy-three. The provincials lost about ninety.

This battle, although of little consequence in itself, was still of great importance, as the commencement of a long, obstinate and bloody war ; and as it served to show the alacrity, courage and temper of the militia. The war thus commenced, the news of it spread consternation throughout the country. Preparations were every where made for the general defence. The Assembly of Massachusetts immediately passed a vote for raising thirteen thousand six hundred men, within their own province, and for calling on New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut for their proportionate number of men, so as to raise, in the whole, an army of thirty thousand, to be equipped and ready for the common defence.

Immediately after the battle of Lexington, a plan was formed by Messrs. Deane, Wooster and Parsons, of Connecticut, to send an expedition to surprize and take Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; two very important military posts, situated on, and commanding the lakes George and Champlain. For this purpose, about forty volunteers from Connecticut marched towards Bennington, in Vermont, where, by previous arrangement, they were to meet Colonel Ethan Allen,* who

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* Ethan Allen, a brigadier general in the war with Great Britain, was born in Salisbury, Connecticut. While he was young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. At the commencement of the disturbances in this country, about the year 1770, he took a most active part in favor of the *Green Mountain Boys,* in opposition to the government of New York. An act of outlawry was passed against him by that state, and 500 guineas were offered for his apprehension.

When the struggle for liberty commenced in this country, Mr. Allen was one of the first to take active measures in its defence. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, he raised 230 Green Mountain boys, with a view to surprise and had also raised a number of volunteers to assist in the expedition, and who was to have the command. Col.

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take possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. This he was authorized to do by the Assembly of Connecticut. When on the point of marching, he was unexpectedly joined by Benedict Arnold, who, with 400 men, had engaged in the same enterprize. Having found their way through the wilderness, they reached Ticonderoga on the 9th of May, 1775. At the head of 83 men, towards the dawn of day, he marched directly to the gate of the fort, where a sentry snapped his gun at him, and retreated. Having passed through the gate, he paraded his men, and gave three huzzas. A soldier, who had asked quarter, then led him to the apartment of the commanding officer, and Allen, with a drawn sword over the head of the Captain, De la Place, who was still undressed, demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you demand it?" inquired the astonished captain; "I demand it," said Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah, and the continental Congress." This summons could not be resisted, and the fort was immediately surrendered. In the fall of 1775, he was sent to Canada, where he made a brave, but unsuccessful attempt to take possesson of Montreal. Here he fell into the hands of the enemy, but did not surrender, until his party was reduced to 31 men.

He was now for some time kept in irons, and treated with great indignity and cruelty, and then sent to England for trial, being assured that a halter awaited him there. In England, he was imprisoned for a time, and then sent to Halifax. Here he was confined in gaol for several months, when he was taken to New York, where the enemy kept possession of him about a year and a half. He was then exchanged for Col. Campbell, and immediately repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to General Washington, as soon as his health should be restored. He arrived at his home in Vermont, in May, 1778. His arrival was announced by the discharge of cannon.

Col. Allen did not again enter the regular service, but was appointed to command the Vermont militia. He died suddenly at his estate in Colchester, Feb. 13, 1789.

Allen met the Connecticut volunteers at Castleton, with about two hundred and seventy men. At this place, they were joined by Col. Arnold, who, without the least knowledge of the enterprize from Connecticut, had been authorized by the committee of safety of Massachusetts, to raise four hundred men for the same purpose. It was agreed that they should join their forces, and be associated in the command. They accordingly marched through the wilderness, and reached lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga on the night of the ninth of May. Here they obtained boats, and the two commanders, with eighty-three men, effected a landing on the opposite shore, without being discovered. They immediately demanded a surrender of the fort and garrison, which were given up without firing a gun on either side. The garrison consisted of a captain, lieutenant, and forty-four men, rank and file.

Ticonderoga being taken, Col. Seth Warner was detached to take possession of Crown Point. This was accordingly effected without opposition. The garrison consisted of a sergeant and twelve men. With these garrisons, a considerable quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the provincials, which, at that time, were of much value. To complete the object of this expedition, it was necessary to capture a sloop of war, the only armed vessel on Lake Champlain. This service was performed by Col. Arnold,* who, with a small detachment, surprised and took the sloop without the least opposition. Thus, without

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* Benedict Arnold, a major general in the service of the United States, was a resident in New Haven, Connecticut, at the breaking out of the revolution. He was appointed captain of a volunteer company, in that town. Hearing of the battle of Lexington, he marched with his company, and offered his services to the committee of safety. But finding nothing to do there, he proposed to march to Ticonderoga, and take that fortress. He was accordingly commissioned a colonel, and authorized to raise 400 men for that purpose.

He afterwards joined Col. Ethan Allen, and proceeded with him in that successful enterprize.

In 1775, he was sent by Washington through the wilderness to Canada, for the purpose of surprising and taking possession of Quebec. After suffering incredible hardships, and losing many of his brave men, he arrived at the place of destination. But here misfortunes attended him, which neither human foresight, nor the greatest military skill and personal courage could control. The attempt to take Quebec proved unsuccessful, and Arnold was obliged to relinquish post after post until he quitted Canada, in June, 1776. At the battle of Stillwater, he conducted with admirable intrepidity, being incessantly engaged with the enemy for four hours. During a subsequent action near the same place, he had his horse killed under him, and was badly wounded in the leg.

Being now rendered unfit for active service, he was appointed to command the garrison at Philadelphia. Here he took the house of Governor Penn, the best in the city, for his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and far beyond his means. He had wasted the plunder which he had seized at Montreal, when in Canada, and as his pay bore no proportion to his expenses, he made up the deficiency by seizing on the effects of those who were unfriendly to the American cause in Philadelphia. He was accused of oppression, extortion, and enormous charges when he presented his accounts for public services. He was also accused of applying public property to his own use. He was also engaged in trading speculation, and in several privateers.

Commissioners being appointed to inspect his public accounts, more than one half of his demands were rejected. On this he appealed to Congress, and the doings of the commissioners were confirmed by that body. He then indulged in the most violent invectives, not only against the commissioners, but against Congress also. The executive of Pennsylvania preferred charges against him, and he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to receive a reprimand from the loss of a single man, these important military posts, together with the command of lake Champlain, were acquired by the enterprize of a few individuals.

Washington. This sentence was approved by Congress, and carried into effect.

It is probable, that from this time his proud spirit revolted against his country, and that he determined on the commission of a crime which has rendered his name so infamous. After much solicitation, he obtained the command of West Point, as a place where his treason would be most valuable to the enemies of America, and most mortal to the hopes of Washington. Before he took this command, he signified to Col. Robinson, of the British army, that he had changed his political principles, and that he would give some signal proof of his attachment to the royal cause in America. This letter was the means of opening for him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the commander of the British army at New York, the object of which was to concert a plan to put into the hands of the British general, the important post which he commanded. This design was discovered just in time to prevent its execution, and the traitor found opportunity to escape to the enemy on the 25th of Sept. 1780.

Arnold was commissioned a brigadier general in the royal army, which station he held to the close of the war. He exerted every means in his power to injure his former friends, and to induce Americans to desert and join him in arms against their country. But Benedict Arnold remains a solitary instance of desertion to the enemy among all the commissioned officers appointed by the American Congress.

He was soon despatched by Sir Henry Clinton to Virginia, with seventeen hundred men to make a diversion. Here he committed extensive ravages, plundering the unprotected inhabitants wherever he went.

He was next sent on an expedition against his native state, and took Fort Trumbull and Fort Griswold, and burnt the town of New London, in Connecticut. At Fort Griswold, the commander, Col. Ledyard, was murdered after he had surrendered, with his own sword, and a merciless slaughter

While these operations were going on in the north, the southern colonies were making most vigorous preparations for the general defence.

In Virginia, the royal government had terminated by the retirement of Lord Dunmore, the governor, from the colony. His lordship privately went on board the Fowey, man of war, which was then lying at Yorktown. The occasion which induced him to consider this step necessary, was the great ferment excited in consequence of his permitting some persons to enter a magazine belonging to the colony, and to destroy the powder, and take the locks from the guns. His lordship afterwards rendered himself exceedingly odious to the colonists by some letters written by him to the Secretary of State, containing sentiments hostile to America. So soon as intelligence of the battle of Lexington was received at South Carolina, a provincial Congress was assembled in that colony.

This Congress "resolved to repel force by force," and agreed to raise two regiments of infantry, and one of rangers, for their defence. An association was also formed, the members of which pledged themselves to meet the enemy at such time and place as the congress should direct, and declared that they would consider all persons who would not subscribe to the association, as enemies to the provinces. Lord William Campbell,

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was then commenced on the garrison, the most of whom were also slaughtered after they had ceased to resist.

Upon the conclusion of the American war, Arnold resided in England, and died at Gloucester place, London, on the 14th of June, 1801.

Arnold's character presents little to be commended. His daring courage was without principle or reflection, and was always displayed to enhance his own fame, rather than the good of the cause in which he was engaged. He was vicious, extravagant, cruel, vain, luxurious and mean. And to give the finish to his character, he was a base traitor to the best cause in which arms were ever taken.

the governor of South Carolina, in consequence of the detection of an intrigue, by which he intended to promote the royal cause, was obliged to take refuge on board a ship of war lying at Charleston; and thus ended the royal administration in South Carolina.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin was charged with fomenting civil discord, and of stirring up an insurrection among the slaves. He made preparation to defend himself in his palace; but the ferment was so great, that he deemed it most safe to escape on board one of his Majesty's ships lying at Cape Fear.

The second Congress met, on the 12th of May, at Philadelphia. The first business that was done, was to lay before the house depositions proving that, at the battle of Lexington, the royal troops gave the first fire, and were entirely the aggressors. All attempts at a reconciliation with Great Britian, in the opinion of Congress, seemed now to be hopeless. No conciliatory measures were offered by Parliament; nor were there any indications, on the part of the provinces, of submission to the oppressive acts of royal authority.

Congress therefore proceeded to make preparation for deciding, with the sword, what it had long been anxiously hoped, would be amicably adjusted in council.

Bills of credit to the amount of three millions of dollars were emitted by vote of the house, to defray the expenses of the war, and the twelve confederated colonies were pledged for the redemption of these bills. Articles of war, for the regulation of the confederated army, were drawn up and passed; and a solemn manifesto, to be published to the army, and read to the people, from the pulpit, was prepared. "We, for ten long years," says the manifesto, "incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne, as suppliants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament, in the most mild and decent language." "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force;—the latter is our choice: we have counted the cost of the contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us." "Our cause is just. Our union perfect. Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable," &c.

During the month of May, Generals Burgoyne,*

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* John Burgoyne, a British lieutenant general in America, was the natural son of lord Bingley. He entered early into the army, and in 1762, had the command of a body of troops sent to Portugal, for the defence of that kingdom against the Spaniards. After his return to England, he became a privy counsellor, and was chosen a member of Parliament. In the American war he was sent to Canada, in 1775. In the year 1777, he was entrusted with the command of the northern army, which should rather have been given to Sir Guy Carleton, who was much better acquainted with the situation of the country. It was the object of the campaign of 1777, to open a communication between New York and Canada, and thus to sever New England from the other states. Burgoyne first proposed to possess himself of the fortress of Ticonderoga. With an army of about four thousand chosen British troops, and three thousand Germans, he left St. Johns, on the sixteenth of June, and proceeded up Lake Champlain, and landed near Crown Point, where he met the Indians, and gave them a war feast. He made a speech to them, calculated to secure their friendly co-operation, but designed also to mitigate their native ferocity. He endeavoured to impress on them the distinction between enemies in the field, and helpless, unarmed inhabitants, and promised rewards for prisoners, but none for scalps. The attempt to lay some restraint upon the mode of warfare adopted by the savages, is honorable to Burgoyne; but it may

Howe and Clinton, arrived at Boston, with a reinforcement of royal troops. After their arrival, General Gage issued his proclamation, declaring the provinces under martial law, and offering pardon to all persons who would throw down their arms, and submit to the king, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock. This proclamation served only to increase the spirit and activity of the provincials. The commanding situation of Bunker's Hill, rendered its possession, in

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not be easy to justify the connexion with an ally, upon whom it was well known no effectual restraints could be laid. He also published on the 29th of June a manifesto, intended to alarm the people of the country, through which he was to march, and concluded it with saying, "I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror, that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."

Towards the close of the year 1781, when a majority of parliament seemed resolved to persist in the war, he joined the opposition, and advocated a motion for the discontinuance of the fruitless contest He knew that it was impossible to conquer America. "Passion, prejudice and interest," said he, "may operate suddenly and partially; but when we see one principle pervading the whole continent, the Americans resolutely encountering difficulty and death for a course of years, it must be a strong vanity and presumption in our own minds, which can only lead us to imagine, that they are not in the right." From the peace till his death, he lived as a private gentleman, devoted to pleasure and the muses. His death was occasioned by a fit of the gout, August 4, 1792. He published the Maid of the Oaks, an entertainment; Bon Ton; and the Heiress, a comedy, which were once very popular, and are considered as respectable dramatic compositions.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

the present state of affairs, of great importance to both parties, and the provincial Congress gave orders to have it fortified. But owing to a misunderstanding, the party detached for this service, took possession of Breed's Hill instead of Bunker's; and such was their diligence and secrecy, that during one night, they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable extent, without giving the least alarm to the British ships, which lay within a short distance.

General Gage saw, at once, the necessity of driving the provincials from this position. He therefore detached Maj. Gen. Howe and Gen. Pigot, with two regiments, to effect this purpose. Meantime the Americans had collected in such numbers, as to stand firmly the approach of the royal party. Gen. Howe, seeing this, halted his army, and sent back for a reinforcement. On their arrival, the royal army moved slowly towards the works they intended to demolish.

Judge Marshall says, "It is not easy to conceive a more grand and a more awful spectacle, than was now exhibited; nor a moment of more anxious expectation than that which was now presented. The scene of action was in full view of the heights of Boston, and its neighbourhood, which were covered with spectators, taking deep and opposite interests in the events passing before them. The soldiers of the hostile army not on duty, the citizens of Boston, and the inhabitants of the adjacent country, all feeling emotions which set description at defiance, were witnessing the majestic and tremendous scene."

The provincials permitted the enemy to advance within one hundred yards of their works, without firing a gun. They then opened, at once, so deadly a fire of musquetry, that the royal line was entirely broken, and fell back with great precipitation. They again rallied, but were again driven back by the incessant and well directed fire of the provincials. With great difficulty the men were again rallied, and a third time led up to the works; the attack being made on three sides of the redoubt. The ships in the harbour, and several pieces of artillery, which had been brought up for the purpose of making a breach in the works, together with the want of ammunition by the Americans, decided this bloody contest in favour of the royal army. Out of three thousand men engaged in this battle, the British had killed and wounded, one thousand and fifty-four. The American loss was only four hundred and fifty, killed, wounded and missing.

Although the British claimed the victory, yet the Americans were greatly elated at the firmness and intrepidity which were displayed by their raw militia, during the action. Soon after this battle, Colonel Washington was appointed general and commander in chief of the army of the united colonies, and all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them. He immediately prepared to enter on this duty, and with the utmost despatch, arrived at Cambridge, the head quarters of the provincial army. Here he found, that about fourteen or fifteen hundred men were ready to welcome him as their commander. But most of them were badly equipped, without ammunition, and in a state of insubordination.

Such indeed, was the scarcity of powder and ball in the army, that had the royal commander known their situation in this respect, the whole of this division might have easily been compelled to surrender. By the efficient arrangements of Gen. Washington, these all important articles were supplied, and subordination and system were, in some degree, soon introduced.

Gen. Washington was fully sensible to the difficulties of his responsible situation, and soon after his arrival, a council of war was called to deliberate on it. By this council it was unanimously agreed, that he should maintain his present position in Cambridge and its vicinity.

In July of this year, the province of Georgia, which had not previously belonged to the confederation, also joined in opposition against British tyranny, and sent delegates to represent her in the general Congress. The general Congress, after a recess of one month, again met at Philadelphia.

On examination of the state of affairs, it was found that the army was chiefly deficient in arms and ammunition, and that the difficulty of procuring both was an alarming circumstance. The greatest exertions were therefore made for this purpose; nor were they without success. By an address, peculiar to that period and to that occasion, all the powder on the coast of Africa, and even within the British forts, was purchased for the American army; and this was done without exciting suspicion. The magazine at Bermuda was also seized for the same purpose; though it was well known, that the inhabitants of that island were in favour of the American cause, and consequently made no resistance.

In the month of October, the town of Falmouth, in Massachusetts, was burnt by Capt. Mowat, of the British navy, under circumstances the most cruel and treacherous. In consequence of this act, letters of marque and reprisal were granted by Congress to such Americans as would fit out armed vessels, to annoy the enemy, and bring in their cruisers and transports. Under such temptations, the coasts soon swarmed with privateers from New England, and although private interest, rather than public good, in some instances, was the motive for which these vessels were sent out, yet they were of material consequence to the cause of America. In many instances, vessels laden with stores for the royal army, were taken and brought in; and thus the provincial army was supplied with articles of which they stood in the greatest need, while the British were deprived of stores they expected, and which they could obtain only from home.

During the fall of this year, Congress appointed a committee, with directions to repair to Cambridge, and there consult the commander in chief, and the chief magistrates of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, on the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a continental army.

On the return of the committee to Congress, it was ordered, that the new army, intended to lie before Boston, should consist of twenty thousand, three hundred and seventy-two men.

Accompanying the resolutions for raising the new army, were others, some of which serve to exhibit the perilous condition of the country, and to show how unprepared it was for the arduous conflict in which it was engaged.

The soldiers had brought with them into service, their own arms; a practice at all times inconvenient, as they will often be of different calibre; yet it was deemed necessary to retain, at a valuation, for the new army, those belonging to men who would not reenlist. The government being entirely unprovided with blankets, two dollars were offered to every person who would bring with him an article so necessary in a winter campaign; and as no regimentals had been procured for the troops, various coloured clothes were purchased up, to be delivered to them, and the price deducted from their pay. But no regulation was more extraordinary, or evinced more strongly the public necessity, than that which required the soldiers to find their own arms, or to pay six shillings for the use of arms furnished by the continent for the campaign.

The enemy continued in possession of Boston, and had erected strong fortifications on Bunker's Hill. The Americans had also erected several redoubts in the vicinity of Boston, so that occasionally the soldiers of both armies worked in sight of each other. Small skirmishes sometimes took place between them. But although the immense importance which would result from the success of a general action on either side, was well known to both commanders, still neither of them had dared to hazard a battle of such consequence. General Washington's views, it was well known to Congress, were directed towards Boston; but his fears for the safety of the town, might perhaps, have been one reason why an attack had not been made.

Under these circumstances, Congress authorized Washington, if he thought best, to attack the royal troops in Boston, notwithstanding the town, and property in it, might thereby be destroyed. One great reason urged for making this attack during the winter, was, the probability that a reinforcement would arrive from England in the spring. But the American army was almost entirely composed of men who never had seen a battle. They were in every respect, but poorly equipped, and the quantity of ammunition in their camp, was absolutely insufficient; whereas the British were inured to battles and camp duty, were in the most perfect state of subordination, and completely equipped in all respects.

General Washington finally came to the conclusion, that an attack ought to be made; but on calling a council of war, the opinions of those he summoned, were nearly unanimous against the measure. It was, therefore, for the present, abandoned. The want of ammunition for the artillery, was said to have been the principal reason for the opinion of the council.

In February, 1776, the inhabitants of Boston saw appearances among the British troops, which indicated an intention to evacuate that place. But as these appearances might be deceptive, Gen. Washington did not alter any of his arrangements. He had received a small supply of powder, and was prosecuting a plan to bring Gen. Howe, who then had the command, to an action, or force him to withdraw from the town. With this view, it was concerted, in a council of war, that on the 2nd of March, the lines of the enemy, and the town, should be bombarded. Accordingly on that night, a heavy cannonade and bombardment were kept up, and continued for three successive nights. On the night of the 4th, a detachment of Americans, commanded by General Thomas, crossed the neck from Roxbury, and took possession of the heights without opposition. Here, with wonderful industry, they fortified themselves during the night, in such a manner, as, by morning, to be nearly covered from the shot of the enemy. The British directed a heavy fire on them, but with very little effect; while the Americans returned the fire from their battery, and continued to strengthen their works.

At this juncture, General Howe became satisfied, that the Americans must be dislodged from the heights, or that he must evacuate Boston. Lord Percy, with three thousand men, was detached for this service; but, owing to a violent storm, its execution was delayed, and finally the attempt was given up, and the resolution formed to evacuate the town. On the 17th of March, the British army marched out of Boston. To the great joy of the inhabitants, they were no longer under martial law, and their town was left standing. A considerable number of those who had embraced the royal cause, quit the town with the army, and took their families and effects to Halifax. We must now leave Boston, and the British army for a while, to describe the events which had, in the mean time, taken place at the north.

The Canadians had become dissatisfied with some of the acts of the British administration, and considerable discontent prevailed, particularly among the English settlers. This colony, the British had left entirely unprotected, their regular troops being concentrated at Boston. An immense amount of military stores had been deposited at Quebec. The Americans had already the command of Ticonderoga and Crown

Point, and the whole of Lake Champlain; and it was thought that many of the Canadians would support the general cause of liberty.

These considerations induced Congress to direct that an army should be sent into Canada. General Schuyler was appointed commander of this expedition. Three thousand men were recruited for this purpose, and Congress voted fifty thousand dollars in specie, to defray the expenses of the army while in Canada.

In September, 1775, Gen. Schuyler* directed Gen.

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* Philip Schuyler, a major general in the revolutionary war, received this appointment from Congress, June 19, 1775. He was directed to proceed immediately from New York to Ticonderoga, to secure the lakes, and to make preparations for entering Canada. Being taken sick in September, the command devolved upon Montgomery. On his recovery, he devoted himself zealously to the management of the affairs in the northern department. The superintendence of the Indian concerns claimed much of his attention. On the approach of Burgoyne, in 1777, he made every exertion to obstruct his progress; but the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, occasioning unreasonable jealousies in regard to Schuyler, in New England, he was superseded by Gates, in August, and Congress directed an inquiry to be made into his conduct. It was a matter of extreme chagrin to him to be recalled at the moment, when he was about to take ground and to face the enemy. He afterwards, though not in the regular service, rendered important services to his country, in the military transactions of New York. He was a member of the old Congress, and when the present government of the United States commenced its operation in 1789, he was appointed with Rufus King a senator from his native state. In 1797 he was again appointed a senator in the place of Aaron Burr. He died at Albany, November 18, 1804, in the seventy third year of his age. Distinguished by strength of intellect and upright intentions, he was wise in the contrivance and enterprising and persevering in the execution of plans of public utility. In private life he was dignified, but courteous, a pleasing

Montgomery, an officer of great merit, then at Crown Point, to embark with such troops as were there in readiness, for Isle-au-Noix, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army. Gen. Schuyler followed and joined him before he reached that place, but was soon after taken so ill that he was unable to leave his bed. The command then devolved on Gen. Montgomery, and it was concluded to proceed against Fort St. Johns. Mr. Livingston, a gentleman of influence, who resided on the river Chamblee, and who was strongly attached to the American cause, had assembled about three hundred Canadian volunteers, and on the arrival of the American army, joined Gen. Montgomery with his detachment. Having also received a reinforcement of provincials, and a supply of powder, Gen. Montgomery embarked with near two thousand men, on the river Sorel, and proceeded to St. Johns.

This place was garrisoned by five or six hundred regular troops, and two hundred Canadian militia, and was well supplied with ammunition, artillery and stores. The Americans besieged this fort with great vigour, for nearly two months; when the garrison, finding no hopes of relief, proposed a capitulation, which was agreed on between the two commanders, and the besieged surrendered prisoners of war.

After this success, Gen. Montgomery proceeded to Montreal; and after stipulating that the inhabitants should enjoy the exercise of all their religious privileges, and that no change should be made in the laws, the place was peaceably surrendered to the American army. Governor Carlton retired, on the approach of the army, to his flotilla, in the river. Preparations were immediately made to attack him with floating batteries; but he was conveyed in a boat, with muffled

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and instructive companion, affectionate in his domestic relations, and just in all his dealings. General Hamilton married his daughter.—*Allen's Biographical Dictionary.*

oars, in the night, to Quebec, and thus escaped. His flotilla, however, was taken.

Gen. Montgomery now prepared, with the utmost expedition, to proceed against Quebec ; but a circumstance of an embarrassing nature, at this period, occurred. He had promised a considerable number of his soldiers, whose term of enlistment had expired, that if they would proceed with him to Montreal, no objection should be made to their discharge. To his extreme mortification, notwithstanding the success of the expedition, many of them now claimed a fulfilment of this promise. He offered a suit of clothes, taken in Montreal, to every man who would re-enlist, but they could not, generally, be prevailed on to do so.

It was necessary to have a small corps at Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal, in order to secure those places. The number of men left at the places named, together with those whose term of service had expired, and who refused to re-enlist, left Gen. Montgomery, with an army of little more than three hundred men, to follow him to the conquest of the capital of Canada.

Gen. Washington had also projected an expedition against Quebec. The object proposed by him, was to compel Governor Carlton, the commander of the whole Canadian force, either to withdraw his army into the upper country, and thus afford an easy passage for the Americans ; or, if he remained at Montreal, to take possession of Quebec before Carlton could arrive there for its defence.

This arduous enterprize was committed to Colonel Arnold ; and as his route lay through a considerable section of the province of Canada, its success depended much on the disposition of the inhabitants towards the American cause. The strictest orders were given not to injure a Canadian or Indian, in person or property ; and manifestoes were distributed, on their march, of a friendly and conciliatory nature. This conduct gained the confidence of the Canadians, who very much assisted Arnold in his march through their country. During the whole of the American revolution, no expedition was planned which required so much hardihood and firmness as this. The army was thirty-two days marching through a wilderness, without seeing a habitation, or a human being, except their own party. They were obliged to carry their batteaux on their shoulders from one river to another, and to transport their baggage across deep morasses, through dense forests, and over high mountains. After the most unexampled privations and fatigue, this hardy set of men arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, on the ninth of November. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the inhabitants, on seeing this army, and understanding that they had marched through such a hideous wilderness. The city of Quebec was found to be in a defenceless state, and could Arnold have entered it on his arrival, no defence could have been made. But the want of boats made this impossible.

One of his Indian runners, whom he had sent with a letter to General Montgomery, had also been intercepted, or had betrayed him. During the delay which was unavoidable, Col. McLean, a British officer, aware of the danger to which Quebec was exposed, collected a considerable force and entered the city.

At length the wind having moderated, Arnold determined to attempt crossing the river. In this he succeeded, and ascending the precipice at the same place where General Wolfe had ascended with his brave army, he formed his corps on the plains of Abraham. It was now proposed by the commander to march directly to Quebec; but in this, he was overruled in a council of war. It was, however, afterwards ascertained, that had this been done, the city might have been entered at St. John's gate, and in all probability, would have surrendered, notwithstanding the opposition of Col. McLean's party.

Arnold now hoped to gain admittance through the defection of the garrison ; but in this he was disappointed. Finding on examination, that his riflemen had not more than ten rounds of ammunition per man, and that his infantry had but six rounds, he was not in a situation to risk an engagement.

Gen. Montgomery, having clothed his naked troops at Montreal, and provided clothing for those of Arnold, marched directly towards Quebec. But before his arrival, Gov. Carlton had entered the town, and was preparing to make a vigorous defence, having assembled about fifteen hundred men. Montgomery's force was about eight hundred men ; but their situation was such as would have appalled a less vigorous mind. The intense cold of December had commenced, and his army were in want of many of the necessaries of life, miserably supplied with the munitions of war, and encamped in the open air. However, depending on his former success, the courage of his men, and his own military skill, together with the advice and sagacity of Arnold, he determined to lay siege to the town. Accordingly, a battery of six guns was opened on it, but was found too small to effect a breach in the wall.

A council of war was then convened, and it was concluded, that an assault was the only mode of attack in which there was the least hope. Preparations having been made, on the 31st of December, 1775, between four and five in the morning, an assault was made in the midst of a violent storm of snow. Perhaps an assault was never more skilfully planned than this ; but, just at the moment, when success seemed certain, the discharge of a gun, from the enemy's battery, killed Gen. Montgomery,* Captains McPherson and Cheeseman, and two soldiers of the line, on the spot. In a few minutes after the death of the general, Col. Arnold,

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* Richard Montgomery, a major general in the army of the United States, was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737. He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great

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Britain, he successfully fought her battles with Wolfe at Quebec, in 1759, and on the very spot, where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her under the banners of freedom. After his return to England, he quitted his regiment, in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment. He had imbibed an attachment to America, viewing it as the rising seat of arts and freedom. After his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New York, about a hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American. When the struggle with Great Britain commenced, as he was known to have an ardent attachment to liberty, and had expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the colonies, the command of the continental forces in the northern department was entrusted to him and General Schuyler in the fall of 1775. By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him in October. He reduced fort Chamblee, and on the third of November captured St. John's. On the twelfth, he took Montreal. In December, he joined Col. Arnold, and marched to Quebec. The city was besieged, and on the last day of the year, it was determined to make an assault. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which concealed them from the enemy. Montgomery advanced at the head of the New York troops along the St. Lawrence, and having assisted with his own hands in pulling up the pickets which obstructed his approach to one of the barriers, that he was determined to force, he was pushing forwards, when one of the guns of the battery was discharged, and he was killed, with his two aids. This was the only gun that was fired, for the enemy had been struck with consternation, and all but one or two had fled. But this event probably prevented the capture of Quebec. When he fell, Montgomery was in a narrow passage, and his body rolled upon the ice, which formed by the side of the river. After it was found the next morning among the slain, it was buried by a few soldiers, without any marks of distinction. He who was also leading the forlorn hope, against another part of the town, received a musket shot in his leg, which shattered the bone, and he was carried off the field. Meantime, Col. Morgan, at the head of the riflemen, with the most undaunted bravery and address, removed the barriers which had been placed in his way, and entered the town. But it being still dark, and himself an entire stranger to the place, it was impossible for him to avoid the hazard of being hemmed in among the mazes of the city, he therefore returned to the barrier which he had passed, and was soon joined by small fragments of companies, making in the whole about two hundred men. With this small party, with Col. Morgan and his few men at their head, it was agreed that they should proceed, and, if possible, make themselves masters of the town. But the opposition, on the part of the enemy, was so strong, that many of the soldiers, as they advanced, became discouraged, and took shelter in the houses, where they remained, in spite of the calls of their officers. Besides this, owing to the storm, not more than one in ten of their guns could be used, though the men were particularly directed to keep the wet from their locks.

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was thirty eight years of age. He was a man of great military talents, whose measures were planned with judgment and executed with vigor. With undisciplined troops, who were jealous of him in the extreme, he yet inspired them with his own enthusiasm. He shared with them in all their hardships, and thus prevented their complaints. His industry could not be wearied, nor his vigilance imposed upon, nor his courage intimidated. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority, though contrary to his own judgment, he gave it his full support. By the direction of Congress, a monument of white marble, of the most beautiful simplicity, with emblematical devices, was executed by Mr. Cassiers, at Paris, and it is erected to his memory in front of St. Paul's church, New York.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

Meantime the Canadian forces constantly increased, until this bold and hazardous enterprise became absolutely impossible, and at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Americans surrendered prisoners of war.

The Americans lost, in the attack, about sixty men, killed and wounded, and three hundred and forty taken prisoners. The remainder of the army, now no longer in a situation to continue the siege, remained about three miles from Quebec, where, with Col. Arnold at their head, they kept the town in a state of blockade, the whole winter, and reduced it to great distress for want of provisions.

When the news of Montgomery's death and Arnold's defeat reached the colonies, it produced sensations of regret and alarm, proportionate to the high standing of the general, and the magnitude of the enterprise.

Congress resolved to raise men to reinforce the army, in Canada, with the utmost expedition. An extra bounty was offered to men who would enlist for this service, and General Lee,* an officer of high standing, was appointed to command the army in that province. But the threatening aspect of the enemy

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* Charles Lee, a major general in the army of the United States, was born in Wales, and was the son of John Lee, a colonel in the British service. He entered the army at a very early age; but though he possessed a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling, made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German and French languages. In 1756, he came to America, and was engaged in the attack upon Ticonderoga, in July, 1758, when Abercrombie was defeated. In 1762, he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he much distinguished himself. Not long afterwards, he entered into the Polish service. Though he was absent when the stamp act passed, he yet by his letters, zealously supported the cause of America. In the years 1771, 1772 and 1773, he rambled over all Europe, for he could never stay long in one place. During this excursion, he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an affair

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of honor, and he murdered his antagonist, escaping himself with the loss of two fingers. Having lost the favour of the ministry, and the hopes of promotion, in consequence of his political sentiments, he came to America, in November, 1773. He travelled through the country, animating the colonies to resistance. In 1774, he was induced, by the persuasion of his friend, General Gates, to purchase a valuable tract of land, of two or three thousand acres, in Berkley county, Virginia. Here he resided till the following year, when he resigned a commission which he held in the British service, and accepted a commission from Congress, appointing him major general. He accompanied Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived, July 2, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect. In the beginning of the following year he was despatched to New York, to prevent the British from obtaining possession of the city and the Hudson. This trust he executed with great wisdom and energy. He disarmed all suspicious persons on Long Island, and drew up a test, to be offered to every one, whose attachment to the American cause was doubted. His bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared He seems to have been very fond of this application of a test; for in a letter to the president of Congress, he informs him, that he had taken the liberty at Newport to administer to a number of the tories a very strong oath, one article of which was, that they should take arms in defence of their country, if called upon by Congress, and he recommends, that this measure should be adopted in reference to all the tories in America. Those fanatics, who might refuse to take it, he thought should be carried into the interior. Being sent into the southern colonies as commander of all the forces which should there be raised, he diffused an ardor among the soldiers, which was attended with the most salutary consequences. He was very active in giving directions and making preparations previously to the unsuccessful attack of the British on Sullivan's island, June 28, 1776. In October, by the direction of Congress, he repaired to the at the south, was the cause of his destination being changed, and Maj. Gen. Thomas was ordered to Cana-

northern army. As he was marching from the Hudson, through New Jersey, to form a junction with Washington, in Pennsylvania, he quitted his camp in Morris county, to reconnoitre. In this employment, he went to the distance of three miles from the camp, and entered a house for breakfast. A British colonel became acquainted with his situation, by intercepting a countryman, charged with a letter from him, and was enabled to take him prisoner. He was instantly mounted on a horse, without his cloak or hat and carried safely to New York. He was detained till April or May, 1778, when he was exchanged for General Prescott, taken at Newport. He was very soon engaged in the battle of Monmouth. Being detached by the commander in chief to make an attack upon the rear of the enemy, Gen. Washington was pressing forward to support him, on the 28th of June, when to his astonishment, he found him retreating, without having made a single effort to maintain his ground. Meeting him in these circumstances, without any previous notice of his plans, Washington addressed him in terms of some warmth. Lee, being ordered to check the enemy, conducted himself with his usual bravery, and when forced from the ground on which he had been placed, brought off his troops in good order. But his haughty temper could not brook the indignity, which he believed to have been offered to him on the field of battle, and he addressed a letter to Washington, requiring reparation for the injury. He was on the thirtieth, arrested for disobedience of orders, for misbehavior before the enemy, and for disrespect to the commander in chief. Of these charges, he was found guilty by a court martial, at which Lord Sterling presided and he was sentenced to be suspended for one year. He defended himself with his accustomed ability, and his retreat seems to be justified from the circumstance of his having advanced upon an enemy, whose strength was much greater than was apprehended, and from his being in a situation, with a morass in his rear, which would preclude him from a retreat, if the British should have proved victorious. But his disda. It was understood by the American Congress, that the only mode of gaining Canada would be through the good will of its inhabitants towards their cause; and it was known, that a considerable proportion of them were attached to the provincial interest. It so happened, however, that Arnold's men committed some depredations on the Canadians, by which many of them became highly disaffected; and the American cause, in Canada, was rather declining, when Gen. Thomas arrived. He reached the encampment in May, 1776, and found the army to consist of nineteen hundred men, of whom less than one thousand were fit for duty, and of these, three hundred had served the time of their enlistments, and insisted on being immediately discharged. The Canadians no longer showed any disposition to assist the Americans. The river St. Lawrence was beginning to open, and the moment it should become navigable, there was no doubt that the enemy would be reinforced. Under such circumstances, it was in vain to think of continuing the siege of Quebec. Gen. Thomas therefore called a council, and it was the unanimous opinion of the officers, that

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respectful letters to the commander in chief, it is not easy to justify. His suspension gave general satisfaction to the army, for he was suspected of aiming himself at the supreme command. After the result of his trial was confirmed by Congress, in January, 1780, he retired to his estate in Berkley county, Virginia, where he lived in a style peculiar to himself. Glass windows and plaster would have been extravagances in his house. Though he had for his companions a few select authors and his dogs, yet as he found his situation too solitary and irksome, he sold his farm in the fall of 1782, that in a different abode he might enjoy the conversation of mankind. He went to Philadelphia, and took lodgings in an inn. After being three or four days in the city, he was seized by a fever, which terminated his life, October 2, 1782. The last words which he uttered, were, "stand by me, my brave grenadiers."—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

the army should retire. Having retreated as far as the river Sorel, Gen. Thomas was seized with the small pox, of which he died.*

Another disastrous event happened about this time, which destroyed all hopes of making Canada an American province, without a larger army. The Americans occupied a military post at a place called the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence, and about 40 miles above Montreal. The garrison consisted of about 400 men, with two field pieces, under the command of Col. Bidel. This place was attacked by Gen. Carlton, with six hundred regular troops, Canadians and Indians, in the absence of Col. Bidel, who had gone to Montreal, for assistance; the officer who commanded, capitulated with the enemy, by which the whole party were made prisoners of war.

General Sullivan, however, arrived at the post on the Sorel, with reinforcements, and assumed the command. But still another disaster was about to happen to the Americans in Canada.

Gen. Sullivan detached Gen. Thompson, with about two thousand men, to attack a party of the enemy, who were encamped at a place called Three Rivers.

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* John Thomas, a major general in the American army, served in the wars against the French and Indians with reputation. In 1775, he was appointed by Congress a brigadier general, and during the siege of Boston, he commanded a division of the provincial troops at Roxbury. In the following year, he was appointed major general, and after the death of Montgomery, was entrusted with the command in Canada. He joined the army before Quebec on the first of May, but soon found it necessary to raise the siege, and commence his retreat. He died of the small pox at Chamblee, May 30, 1776. On his death, the command devolved for a few days on Arnold, and then on Gen. Sullivan. He was a man of sound judgment and fixed courage, who was beloved by his soldiers, and amiable in the relations of private life.—*Allen's Biographical Dictionary.*

This party was supposed to amount to about nine hundred men, but was afterwards found to be nearly double that number. The plan of attack was well laid by Gen. Thompson, but in his way to that place, his party was discovered by the enemy's ships, then just arrived with troops, in the river St. Lawrence. The enemy landed a number of field pieces, and intercepted the Americans, drove them into a deep morass, and finally took Gen. Thompson, Col. Irwin, and about 200 men prisoners.

The expected reinforcements from England having now arrived, the royal army in Canada amounted nearly to twenty thousand men. These troops were the flower of the British army; were in the most perfect state of discipline, and had been inured to the duties of the camp. Among the officers who commanded them, were Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, Frazer, Carlton, Nesbit and Reidesel.

The whole of the American forces then in Canada, amounted to about eight thousand men. But of these, hardly one half were effective, being worn down with fatigue and privations, and many of them sick in the hospitals. Under these circumstances, Gen. Sullivan perceived that a retreat furnished the only hope of saving his army from the hands of the enemy. This was effected with much military skill; but only just in time to escape from the enemy, who closely pursued the Americans.

Thus terminated the bold, and at one time, promising, enterprize, of annexing Canada to the United Provinces. It seems to have failed in consequence of a number of incidents which could not have been foreseen, and some of which were, in themselves, of little or no importance. Thus the arrival of Arnold at Quebec, a few days sooner or later, could not have been thought an important circumstance, nor would it have been, in the course of events which ordinarily occur. The wind which prevented his crossing the river; the interception of General Sullivan's* party, by troops just then arrived from England; the death of Montgomery and Thomas; and the sickness of the troops; were a succession of disasters, for which no calculation could have been made, and which seem to have decided this unfortunate undertaking. A committee of Congress, appointed to inquire into the causes of these failures, did not attach blame to any of the commanding officers of the expedition.

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* John Sullivan, LL. D. major general in the American army, and president of New Hampshire, was appointed by Congress a brigadier general, in 1775 and in the following year, it is believed, a major general He superseded Arnold in the command of the army in Canada, June 4, 1776, but was soon driven out of that province. He afterwards, on the illness of Greene, took the command of his division on Long Island. In the battle of August 27th, he was taken prisoner with Lord Stirling. In a few months, however, he was exchanged, for when Lee was carried off, he took the command of his division in New Jersey, on the 20th of December. On the 22d of August, 1777, he planned and executed an expedition against Staten Island, for which, on an inquiry into his conduct, he received the approbation of the court. In September. he was engaged in the battle of Brandywine. and on the 4th of October in that of Germantown In the winter, he was detached to command the troops in Rhode Island. In August 1778, he laid siege to Newport, then in the hands of the British, with the fullest confidence of success; but being abandoned by the French fleet, under D'Estaing, who sailed to Boston, he was obliged, to his unutterable chagrin to raise the siege. On the 29th, an action took place with the pursuing enemy, who were repulsed. On the 30th, with great military skill, he passed over to the continent, without the loss of a single article, and without the slightest suspicion, on the part of the British, of his movements. In the summer of 1779, he commanded an expedition against the Six Nations of Indians in New York. Being joined by General Clinton, on the 22d of August, he marched towards the enemy, under the command of Brandt, the Butlers and others, at Newtown, between the south end of Seneca lake and Tioga river, attacked them in their works, and completely dispersed them. He then laid waste the country, destroyed all their villages, and left not a single vestige of human industry. This severity was necessary to prevent their ravages. Gen Sullivan had made such high demands for military stores, and had so freely complained of the government for inattention to those de-

During the period of time occupied by the Canadian war, the southern colonies were by no means inactive.

Lord Dunmore, governour of Virginia, who had taken arms against the liberty of his own colony, had collected a considerable number of tories, runaway slaves, and freed apprentices, and furnished them with arms, and was carrying on a predatory war against its peaceable citizens. Considering his party of sufficient strength, he attempted to burn the town of Hampton, but was repulsed with loss. His lordship then proclaimed martial law, and commanded all persons capable of military duty, to repair forthwith to the royal standard. These transactions being known at Williamsburg, a regiment of regulars was detached against him. Both parties threw up small fortifications near each other, where they continued a few days without any movement. His lordship then in a fit of contempt for American courage, sent about sixty grenadiers to

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mands, as to give much offence to some members of Congress, and to the board of war. He in consequence resigned his command on the 9th of November. He was afterwards a member of Congress In the years 1786, 1787, and 1789, he was president of New Hampshire, in which station, by his vigorous exertions he quelled the spirit of insurrection, which exhibited itself at the time of the troubles in Massachusetts. In October, 1789, he was appointed district judge of New Hampshire. He died at his seat in Durham, January 23, 1795, aged fifty four years.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

storm the works of the provincials, and clear the way for the rest of his army. But, contrary to his expectation, the provincials being on the alert, and ready to receive them, poured so dreadful a fire on the approaching enemy, that great numbers were killed on the spot, and his Lordship was repulsed with the loss of every one of his grenadiers, who were either killed or wounded.

The town of Norfolk was burnt on the night of Dec. 9th, 1776. It is said that the British determined on this act in consequence of some American soldiers having fired into a vessel belonging to their squadron, which lay in the harbour. The houses along the shore were set on fire by a party which landed under cover of a heavy cannonade from their shipping. The fire was continued by order of the Virginian convention, through fear, that if the town was left standing, the British would make it a strong and permanent post. Thus was destroyed, one of the most flourishing and populous towns in Virginia.

In North Carolina, Governour Martin entertained hopes of being able to reduce that colony to royal obedience. Having collected a considerable army, consisting of disaffected persons, tories and Irishmen, recently arrived, he appointed an Irish emigrant, by the name of McDonald, their general. This party, being in number about fifteen hundred, took post at a place called Crop Creek, and began to show a warlike disposition. General Moore immediately marched against them, with a regiment of regulars and a few militia. McDonald retreated with great precipitation, but was surrounded, and obliged to risk a battle, in which several of the leaders were killed; this filled the whole party with panic, and they fled in all directions.

This victory was of great service to the American cause in South Carolina. It broke up and dispersed a rabble which was likely to do much mischief; and at the same time, gave courage to many of the colonists, who were fearful that the American cause could not be supported in their colony.

In February of this year, Sir Henry Clinton, with the British fleet, arrived at Charleston; and on the 28th of that month, the Bristol and Experiment, two fifty gun ships, the Solebay, Acteon and Syren, of twenty eight guns each, the Sphynx, of twenty two guns, and the Thunder, bomb ketch, all took their station before the town. At about eleven o'clock on that day, they opened a most tremendous cannonade and bombardment on the fort at Sullivan's Island. But owing to the low situation of the fort, and the materials of which it was constituted, little effect was produced. These materials were dirt and Palmetto wood, which wood, when struck with lead, does not splinter, but closes upon it. The mortars in the bomb ketch became injured by over charging, and soon were useless. This was an occasion of great joy to the assailed. At no time did the provincials ever display more determined courage than on this occasion. Every gun from the fort was aimed in a manner as deliberate and exact, as though the garrison had been trying their skill at a target; and although the firing was not rapid, the execution was terrible. During the action, all the powder at the fort was expended, and the guns were for a few moments silent. Gen. Lee, who commanded on this occasion, crossed over to the fort, in order to ascertain the situation of the men, and whether it was necessary to make preparations to withdraw them to the shore. But he found them united in the determination to give up the fort only with their lives; and he returned with admiration of the veteran like courage which he had witnessed. The engagement continued until night made a suspension necessary. Nor were the royal ships in much condition to continue the action longer. The Bristol lost one hundred and eleven men, and the

Experiment seventy nine. Capt. Scott, of the Bristol, lost his arm, and Capt. Morris, of the Experiment, was mortally wounded. Lord Campbell, who served as a volunteer, was also mortally wounded. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded, was only thirty five.

About nine in the evening, the British fleet slipped their cables, and sailed for New York; all attempts on the southern colonies being for the present relinquished.

Gen. Lee obtained great reputation for the military skill with which he conducted this defence; and Col. Moultrie,* who commanded the fort, and Col. Thompson, received great and merited praise for their gallantry on this occasion.

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* William Moultrie, governour of South Carolina, and a major general in the American war, was devoted to the service of his country from an early period of his life. In the Cherokee war, in 1760, he was a volunteer, with many of his respectable countrymen, under the command of Governour Lyttleton. He was afterwards in another expedition, under Colonel Montgomery. He then commanded a company in a third expedition, in 1761, which humbled the Cherokees, and brought them to terms of peace. He was among the foremost at the commencement of the late revolution, to assert the liberties of his country, and braved every danger to redress her wrongs. His manly firmness, intrepid zeal, and cheerful exposure of every thing, which he possessed, added weight to his counsels, and induced others to join him. In the beginning of the war, he was colonel of the second regiment of South Carolina. His defence of Sullivan's island, with three hundred and forty four regulars, and a few militia, and his repulse of the British, in their attack upon the fort, June 28, 1776, covered him with honour. In consequence of his good conduct he received the unanimous thanks of Congress, and in compliment to him, the fort was from that time called fort Moultrie. In 1779, he gained a victory over the British, in the battle near Beaufort.

Having thus given some account of the military transactions at the north and south, it is necessary now to turn our attention to the movements of the middle colonies.

Immediately after the royal army had evacuated Boston, Gen. Washington hastened with the main body of his army to New York. He conceived that the grand efforts of the British would probably be directed up the Hudson, and had determined to watch their movements with vigilance. The possession of New York by the enemy, was an event greatly to be dreaded, not only on account of its own importance, but also as furnishing a facility to penetrate up the Hudson. But as they had the command of the harbour, it was difficult to prevent their landing, without a force by land sufficient to oppose them in open combat. Hulks were therefore sunk to obstruct the passage of ships up the Hudson, and the narrows were strongly fortified on both sides of the river.

But Washington saw with regret that his effective

After the city surrendered, he was sent to Philadelphia. In 1782, he returned with his countrymen, and was repeatedly chosen governour of the state, till the infirmities of age induced him to withdraw to the peaceful retreat of domestic life. He died at Charleston, September 27, 1805, in the seventy sixth year of his age. The glory of his honourable services was surpassed by his disinterestedness and integrity. An attempt was once made on the part of the British, to bribe him, and he was thought to be more open to corruption, as he had suffered much in his private fortune. But resolving to share the fate of his country, he spurned the offers of indemnification and preferment, which were made him. He was an unassuming, easy, affable companion, cheerful and sincere in his friendships. He published memoirs of the American revolution, so far as it related to North and South Carolina, and Georgia, 2 vols. 8vo. 1802. This work is principally a collection of letters, written by civil and military officers, in the time of the war.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

force would be insufficient for the efforts he deemed it necessary to make. The number of posts to be defended was so great, that the power of his army at any one point, must be greatly weakened by such divisions. Besides these discouragements, the army was in want of guns, clothing, powder, tents, and indeed, of almost all the munitions of war.

On a representation of these facts, a resolution passed Congress, to strengthen the regular army, by raising thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey.

About this time, a plot was discovered, of an odious and very alarming nature. It was formed by Gov. Tryon, through the agency of the Mayor of New York, and its object was no less than the seizure of Gen. Washington, and delivering him over to the enemy. Some of the American army was concerned in it. At the same time, another plot, for the same purpose, was forming in Albany. Both were discovered in time to be defeated, and the ring-leaders were brought to the justice they deserved.

" Hitherto," says Judge Marshall, " the war had been carried on with the avowed wish to obtain a redress of grievances. The utmost horror at the idea of attempting independence had been expressed, and the most anxious desire of establishing on its ancient principles, the union which had so long subsisted between the two countries, was openly and generally declared. But however sincere the wish to retain a political connexion with Great Baitain might have been, at the commencement of the conflict, the operation of hostilities on that sentiment was infallible. To profess allegiance and respect for a monarch, who was believed to be endeavouring, by force of arms, to wrest from them all that rendered life valuable ; whilst every possible effort was making by arms to repel the attempt, began to be felt as an absurdity, and to maintain such a system was impossible." "When the appeal was first made to arms, and the battle of Lexington was fought, a great majority of those who guided the councils, and led the battalions of America, wished only for a repeal of the obnoxious acts of Parliament, which had occasioned their resistance to the authority of the crown; and they would have been truly unwilling to venture into the unexplored regions of self-government."

But these prejudices and these feelings were totally incompatible with the present state of things. No subject can ever love or respect a monarch, who proposes to him to take away either his liberty or his life, and who, with arms in his hand, shows himself determined to enforce his command. It was well known to the colonists, that immense preparations were making in England, to bring the American Colonies to a state in which they could no longer resist any of her claims. In all probability she would tax them until they had paid the utmost farthing she had expended in effecting their subjection. Add to this, the consideration of the burning of houses, destruction of property and lives, sometimes wantonly, by the British soldiery; and no man in his senses, could think of ever submitting to such authority.

Some of the colonists, therefore, began to think of independence; and this subject soon became a leading topic of conversation, and excited a general wish that it might be attained.

Congress at the same time, knowing the sentiments of the people, began to take higher ground. Their language respecting the British government, was no longer in the tone of loyal subjects. The assumption of authority began to characterize their doings; and their acts purported to emanate from a body possessing the highest power in America. General letters of marque and reprisal were granted, and the American ports were opened to all nations and people, not subject to the British crown.

But a measure of congress, adopted on the 6th of May 1776, was considered as deciding the disposition of that body, in favour of disavowing all allegiance to Great Britain. Before that time, each colony had adopted temporary forms of government, to continue only during the contest; this course having been recommended by Congress. But now Mr. John Adams. Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Richard Henry Lee, were appointed by that body to frame a preamble to resolutions, recommending generally to the colonies to adopt a system of government without limitation of time, and which should be adequate to existing circumstances.

A part of the preamble was in these words: "Whereas his Brittanic Majesty, in conjunction with the Lords and commons of Great Britain, has, by a late act of parliament, excluded the inhabitants of the United Colonies from the protection of the crown; and whereas no answer whatever to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances, and reconciliation with Great Britain, has been, or is likely to be given; but the whole force of the kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these colonies; and whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable with reason and good conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under said crown, should be totally suppressed; therefore resolved, that it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient for the exigencies of their affairs hath been already established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."

The step recommended by Congress was so decisive, that several of the colonies at first hesitated whether it should be adopted. But public opinion was in favour of the decision which Congress had made ; and all the Colonies finally adopted the plan of government recommended.

The time was now fast approaching, when the great and decisive step was to be taken. The people in all parts of the country were impatient openly to throw off all allegiance to his Brittanic Majesty, and declared themselves ready to support their independence with their fortunes and their swords. Several of the State conventions instructed their representatives in Congress, to move resolutions declaring the United Colonies free and independent. Under this general state of feeling, the following resolution was moved in Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, and seconded by John Adams ; " Resolved that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States ; and that all political connexion between them, and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved." This resolution, which was read on the 7th of June 1776, was referred to a committee of the whole Congress, where it was debated daily. Copies of it were sent to the state conventions requesting instructions to their delegates in Congress. All the colonies except Pennsylvania and Maryland immediately expressed their approbation of the measure. In both these colonies, the friends of independence made the strongest exertions to obtain the consent of their conventions to favour the resolution. The apprehension of which they availed themselves, that those colonies which did not join in this last and most important step, would be left out of the Union, was an argument which produced the desired effect; and on the 28th of June these provinces directed their representatives to assent to the resolution.

Having thus obtained the consent of all the provinces, the declaration of independence which had already been prepared was read, commented on, and finally passed, by a unanimous vote of Congress.—While this most important step was preparing in the American cabinet, great exertions were making for its defence in the field. The British administration had become convinced, from the effects of continental arms on their troops, that America could be made to submit, only by a force vastly superior to any thing they had yet sent against her. While the colonists, having declared themselves a nation free and independent, had determined, in virtue of this assertion, to repel every hostile invasion of their territories, and every encroachment on their rights as citizens. As had been predicted by Washington, the movements of the British army now evinced that an attempt would be made to ascend the Hudson.

Lord Howe who on the evacuation of Boston, retired to Halifax, had now arrived, with his whole army, at New-York. Here, although he had seen the declaration of independence, he sent letters to the late governours of the provinces, offering terms of pacification, and proclaiming pardon to such persons as had violated their allegiance, provided they would immediately return to their duty. These letters were put into circulation, by such friends of royalty among the Colonists, as had not yet convinced themselves that Great Britain had no right to them as slaves. These circulars, so far from producing what was designed, actually produced an effect entirely opposite; and so salutary was their influence in favour of the American cause, that Congress ordered their publication in all the newspapers in the colonies. Meantime reinforcements from England and Germany were arriving daily, and the British army from the South had joined General Howe. His force was now estimated at about twenty-four thousand men.

The American army, including the regular troops and militia, amounted to about twenty-seven thousand men. One fourth part of this number was sick and unable to do duty. A portion of this army was stationed on Long Island, under the command of Major General Sullivan. The residue occupied different stations in the neighbourhood of New York, viz. on York Island, on Governour's Island, at Powles-hook, and East and West Chester. An attack from the enemy was now daily expected, and Washington exerted all his faculties in preparing for it. He visited every post, and encouraged the men to show to the British and to the world, with what firmness freemen defended their liberties. In his orders, he says, "the time is now near at hand, which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them."

To the officers, he recommended the greatest possible coolness during the action; to the soldiers, the strictest obedience to orders. As the time approached when Washington had every reason to believe a great and perhaps decisive engagement was to take place, his anxiety and vigilance increased.

Just before the landing of the enemy on Long Island, in an address to the army, he says "Be ready for action at a moment's call, and when called into it, remember that liberty, property, life and honour, are all at stake; that upon your courage and conduct rest the hopes of your bleeding and insulted country; that your wives, children and parents, expect safety from you only ; and that we have every reason to believe that Heaven will crown with success so just a cause." He then gave explicit orders that any soldier, who should attempt to conceal himself in time of battle, should be shot down on the spot.

The movements of the enemy indicated that an attack was soon to be made, and as the defence of Long Island was intimately connected with the safety of New York, a strong reinforcement was sent over to General Sullivan.

Early in the morning on the 22d of July 1776, the principal part of the British troops, with Col. Donop's corps of Chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, with forty pieces of cannon, landed on Long Island, at a short distance from the narrows. This division of the army was commanded by Lieutenant General Clinton.

Major General Putnam* was now directed to take command at Brooklyn, with a reinforcement of six regiments, and was ordered to be in constant readiness

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* Israel Putnam, a major general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigorous, but it was never cultivated by education. When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size. After bearing his sarcasms until his good nature was exhausted, he attacked and vanquished the unmannerly fellow to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping, and wrestling he almost always bore away the prize. In 1739 he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he cultivated a considerable tract of land. He had however to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles the depredations of wolves upon his sheepfold was not the least. In one night seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she wolf, who with her annual whelps had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the havoc, Mr Putnam entered into a combination with a number of his neighbours to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her. At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons soon collected with guns,

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straw, fire, and sulphur to attack the common enemy. But the dogs were afraid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the cave and shoot the wolf; but as the negro declined, he resolved to do it himself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern head foremost with a blazing torch, made of strips of birch bark, in his hand. He descended fifteen feet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees in an abode, which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly celerity and violence, which not a little bruised him. Loading his gun with nine buck shot, and carrying it in one hand. while he held the torch with the other. he descended a second time. As he approached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, snapped her teeth, dropped her head between her legs, and was evidently on the point of springing at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Having refreshed himself he again descended, and seizing the wolf by her ears kicked the rope, and his companions above with no small exultation dragged them both out together. During the French war he was appointed to command a company of the first troops, which were raised in Connecticut in 1755. He rendered much service to the army in the neighbourhood of Crown Point. In 1756, while near Ticonderoga, he was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. He escaped in an adventure of one night with twelve bullet holes in his blanket. In August he was sent out with several hundred men to watch the motions of the enemy. Being ambuscaded by a party of equal for an attack. On the 25th, Lieutenant General De Heister landed with two brigades of Hessians, and took

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numbers, a general but irregular action took place. Putnam had discharged his fusee several times, but at length it missed fire, while its muzzle was presented to the breast of a savage. The warrior with his lifted hatchet and a tremendous war whoop compelled him to surrender and then bound him to a tree. In the course of the action the parties changed their position, so as to bring this tree directly between them. The balls flew by him incessantly ; many struck the tree, and some passed through his clothes. The enemy now gained possession of the ground, but being afterwards driven from the field they carried their prisoner with them. At night he was stripped and a fire was kindled to roast him alive ; but a French officer saved him The next day he arrived at Ticonderoga, and thence he was carried to Montreal. About the year 1759 he was exchanged through the ingenuity of his fellow prisoner, Col. Schuyler. When peace took place he returned to his farm. He was ploughing in his field in 1775, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington. He immediately unyoked his team, left his plough on the spot, and without changing his clothes set off for Cambridge. He soon went back to Connecticut, levied a regiment, and repaired again to the camp. In a little time he was promoted to the rank of major general.—In the battle of Bunker's hill he exhibited his usual intrepidity. He directed the men to reserve their fire, till the enemy was very near, reminded them of their skill, and told them to take good aim. They did so, and the execution was terrible. After the retreat, he made a stand at Winter hill and drove back the enemy under cover of their ships. When the army was organized by Gen. Washington at Cambridge, Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August 1776 he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army on the 27th of that month, he went to New York and was very serviceable in the city and neighbourhood. In October or November he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January 1777 he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until post at Flatbush, where he was reinforced by Lord Cornwallis in the evening.

On the 26th the British army was posted as follows; the Hessians under De Heister in the centre; on the right was the main body of the army, commanded by General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis; and on the left Major General Grant's division.

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spring. At this place a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick might be sent for to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and he did not wish to have his weakness known; yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He however sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer on his return reported that Gen. Putnam's army could not consist of less, than four or five thousand men. In the spring he was appointed to the command of a separate army in the highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp; Gov. Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply; "Sir, Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and he shall be hanged as a spy. P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged." After the loss of fort Montgomery, the commander in chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed Putnam to fix upon a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retirement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. He died at Brooklyn, Connecticut, May 29, 1790, aged seventy-two years.—*Allen's Biographical Dictionary.*

The two armies were now within five or six miles of each other, but separated by a range of hills.

Soon after daylight on the 27th, General Sullivan, who commanded all the troops without the lines, proceeded with a body of New England troops towards Flatbush, intending to guard a pass through the hills. At the same time, Lord Sterling was ordered to meet the enemy, who was advancing on the road from the narrows. In the morning De Heister's division began to cannonade the troops under General Sullivan. Meanwhile the British right had got in rear of the American line, and Gen. Sullivan found it was time to retreat from his position; but in doing this he encountered the front of the British line. It was then that the Americans saw the dangers of their situation, and found that they were surrounded.

An attempt was therefore made to escape to the camp at Brooklyn, with the utmost celerity; but this was found difficult. Clinton and the main body of his army attacked them in the rear, while they were flying before De Heister. A succession of skirmishes took place in the woods, in which some of the American army forced their way through the enemy, and regained the lines. Others escaped under cover of the woods; but a considerable proportion of Sullivan's and Lord Sterling's detachments were either taken or killed.

The loss to the American army on this occasion was very considerable. Numbers were supposed to have been drowned in a creek, and some were suffocated in a marsh. The number lost could not be accurately known; but Washington did not admit that it was more than a thousand. Among the prisoners were Major General Sullivan, Lord Sterling,* and General

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* William Alexander, commonly called lord Stirling, a major general in the American army, was a native of the city of New York, but spent a considerable part of his life

Woodhull. The loss of the enemy was stated, by General Howe, to have been twenty-one officers, and three hundred and forty-six privates, killed, wounded, and taken.

During the action, General Washington crossed over from New York and saw, with inexpressible anguish, the destruction in which his best troops were involved. Should he attempt to reinforce them from the camp at Brooklyn, the camp itself might be lost, and thus the whole division be destroyed. Should he bring over the battalions remaining at New York, his number would not then be equal to that of the enemy; and consequently, to hazard a general engagement at the risk of losing all, was, in his view, altogether inexpedient. He was therefore compelled to witness the death of some of his best soldiers, without making any attempt to save them.

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in New Jersey. He was considered by many as the rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although, when he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government; yet among his friends and acquaintances he received by courtesy the title of lord Stirling. He discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, and attained great eminence in these sciences.

In the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner, after having secured to a large part of the detachment an opportunity to escape by a bold attack with four hundred men upon a corps under lord Cornwallis. His attachment to Washington was proved in the latter part of 1777 by transmitting to him an account of the disaffection of Gen. Conway to the commander in chief. In the letter he said, "Such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect."

He died at Albany, January 15, 1783, aged 57 years.—He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer.—*Allen's Biographical Dictionary.*

The situation of the army on Long Island now became critical. The enemy, having a formidable train of artillery, could destroy their works at Brooklyn; in which case the whole division must fall into their hands. It was therefore determined to withdraw the troops to New York. This difficult movement was effected on the night of the 28th, with such despatch and silence, that the enemy never suspected it until morning.

This victory over the Americans greatly dispirited the whole army, and threw a gloom over the countenances of all the friends of liberty.

Gen. Washington thus describes the state of the army, after this event, in a letter to Congress. "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return home. Great numbers of them have gone off,—in some instances, almost by whole regiments, in many, by battalions, and by companies at a time."

Washington had frequently remonstrated with Congress against substituting militia for enlisted men. Experience had repeatedly shown, that in time of action, no dependence could be placed on militia. The present instance was so convincing a proof of what he had said, that Congress now passed an act to raise, by enlistment, for three years, or during the war, eighty-eight battalions of men. Immediately after his victory on Long Island, Lord Howe offered to negociate with Congress, in conformity with his powers as a commissioner for making peace. Congress accordingly appointed a committee, who waited on his lordship at Staten Island, to be informed, how far his powers extended, and what terms he had to propose. His lordship prefaced his terms, by informing the gentlemen, that his majesty and ministers were exceedingly well disposed towards the American colonies, and that they wished to make the government of this country as easy to the people as possible. He also intimated, that, in case of submission, the offensive acts of parliament should be reversed, and the instructions to governours be reconsidered.

The committee, in answer, gave it as their opinion, that, in the present state of things, submission to Great Britain was not to be expected. That the colonies had petitioned without obtaining redress, and that they now considered themselves as free and independent states.

His lordship answered, that he regretted to find that no accommodation was likely to take place, and dissolved the meeting.

The royal army having got possession of Long Island, Washington began to doubt the propriety of attempting to maintain his position at New York. His whole force did not exceed 25,000 men, and of these not more than 18,000 were fit for duty. The British could bring against him a much greater number of veteran troops, and in all respects superior. But the great danger of remaining on York Island was, that the enemy would probably take post in the rear, while the shipping would guard the front, and thus force the American army to an engagement on their own terms, or to surrender at discretion.

It was therefore concluded to evacuate New York, and to remove the baggage and military stores to a place of safety. While preparations were making for the army to move, Sir Henry Clinton landed with about four thousand men, at a place called Kip's bay, three miles above New York. Works had been thrown up at this place, to oppose the landing of the enemy, but the troops stationed to defend them, terrified by the fire of the enemy's ships, under which the landing was effected, fled with precipitation. It now only remained to withdraw the residue of the American army from the city. This was effected with the loss of only a few men, killed and wounded in a skirmish at Bloomingdale. All the heavy artillery, however, together with a large proportion of the baggage, provisions and tents, were unavoidably abandoned. This was a heavy and irreparable loss. The tents in particular, were a loss which was most severely felt, as the season was approaching, when the men would suffer without them.

The enemy now took possession of the city, and posted the main body of their army, so as to extend quite across York Island, and near the American lines. Washington had fortified Kingsbridge with great care, that he might preserve a communication with the continent; and at this place, his army presented the strongest point in their line.

The two armies being now intrenched near each other, frequent skirmishes took place between small parties, sometimes in sight of both lines. In one of these, the Americans had obviously the advantage, having killed and wounded twice the number they lost. This little affair had quite an effect on the whole army. It was the first success they had obtained during this campaign. It showed, too, that in fair combat, American troops could stand before, and vanquish their royal enemies. The armies did not long remain in this position. Gen. Howe's plan was either to force Washington out of his lines, or to enclose him in them. With this view, he landed a considerable part of his army at Frog's Neck, and began to throw up intrenchments, to obstruct the movement of the American army into the country.

The commander in chief, aware of the plan of his adversary, moved his army to White Plains, where hasty intrenchments were thrown up, to make his situation as defensible as possible. To this place the

British army followed, and on viewing Washington's situation, Gen. Howe determined to possess himself of a hill, which covered the right flank of the American army. Gen. McDougal had, by order of Washington, thrown up a slight intrenchment at this place, and was then in possession of it, with about sixteen hundred men, principally militia. Gen. Howe directed that a brigade of Hessians, by taking a circuitous route, should attack Gen. McDougal in the rear, while a brigade of British troops, the Hessian grenadiers, and a battalion of Hessians should attack him in front. McDougal's militia soon fled, but his regulars sustained the attack with great gallantry. The attack, as well as the defence, was very animated, and a sharp and bloody conflict ensued, in which the enemy gained possession of the ground in dispute.

In this action, the Americans lost, in killed, wounded and missing, upwards of three hundred men.

Gen. Washington now expected, that the enemy would attempt his line of intrenchments, and the sick and baggage were removed into his rear, and the night was spent in making preparations for an event which might destroy the whole American army, or perhaps settle the independence of the United Colonies.

Gen. Howe, perceiving that the industry of the Americans, during the night, had greatly strengthened their position, postponed the attack until the arrival of Lord Percy, with six battalions from New York. This reinforcement arrived on the 29th of October, and preparations were made for a general engagement on the next day, but a violent storm of rain occasioned further delay. Mean time, on the night of the 30th, Washington, not satisfied with his position, silently withdrew to the heights of North Castle, five miles from White Plains.

Gen. Howe, deeming it imprudent to attempt to force so strong a position, broke up his camp at White Plains, and moved to New York.

Washington saw that his next attempt would probaby be on Fort Washington, a strong fortification, situated on the North River, and calculated to defend the river against the ascent of the enemy. This fort was entrusted to the command of Col. Morgan, an officer in whom great confidence was placed.

On the 15th of November, Gen. Howe, having every thing prepared for the attack, formally summoned Fort Washington to surrender, on pain of putting the garrison to the sword. Col. Morgan replied, that he should defend it to the last extremity, and immediately communicated the summons to Gen. Greene, at Fort Lee, and to Washington, who was then at Hackensack. The commander in chief immediately set out to visit the fort, but met Generals Greene and Putnam returning from it, who reported, that the garrison was in high spirits, and would make good their defence. Notwithstanding the strength of this place, Gen. Howe resolved to carry it by storm.

The attack was commenced at 10 o'clock, Nov. 16, Gen. Howe commanding in person. The assault was made at four different quarters of the fort at the same time. The Americans received them with great gallantry, until, their out-posts being over-powered by numbers, were driven into the fort.

Having now possession of the lines, the British commander again summoned the garrison to surrender. Col. Morgan, finding that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that the fort was too small to contain all the men, surrendered the garrison prisoners of war.

This was one of the greatest losses the Americans experienced during the war. Two thousand men were taken in the fort, and the number killed was not known, probably they amounted to several hundreds. The loss on the side of the enemy was eight hundred killed.

The enemy followed up this success by marching immediately towards Fort Lee, situated between the Hudson and Hackensack rivers. At first it was determined to give them battle, but it was soon discovered, that their numbers were such as to leave little hope of success in the field. A retreat was therefore concluded on, and effected only just in time for the escape of the men; most of the heavy artillery, a quantity of military stores, and three hundred tents being left in possession of the enemy.

Washington now took post along the Hackensack river, but it was impossible for him to dispute the passage of the enemy. He was in a level country, without an intrenching tool, and his army had been reduced by the termination of enlistments, desertion, and the surrender of Fort Washington, to three thousand men.

This was a gloomy period of the American cause. Even this small army was not provided with the necessaries of a soldier. Tents, blankets and clothing were wanting to render the men comfortable. Some of them were bare footed and others half naked, with no covering at night, in the month of November. In such a state of things, it was in vain to think of resisting the enemy. The very existence of his army was considered by Washington to be in peril. He in vain applied for reinforcements from the neighbouring states. But the cause of the country, at this period, appeared in some sections, to be nearly forsaken. In others, the militia were overawed by the strength of the British army, and entirely refused to obey the orders to embody.

Under these circumstances, Washington retreated to Newark, in New Jersey. The enemy pursuing him from post to post, he continued his retreat to Trenton. The enemy at the same time, fixed his head quarters at Brunswick.

On the 8th of December, the pursued army crossed the Delaware, just as the pursuing army came in sight.

Care had been taken to secure all the boats for many miles on the river, and to break down the bridges on the road. The enemy had, however, repaired the bridges, and only wanted some means of crossing the Delaware, to invest Philadelphia, or completely surround the American army. In this exigency, Gen. Washington strongly and repeatedly desired Gen. Lee to join him with his division. But the latter officer, choosing rather to maintain his separate command, moved slowly and reluctantly, in the rear of the enemy. While on the march, he lodged in a house, with only a small guard, three miles from his army. Information of this being given to Col. Harcourt, of the royal army, he proceeded to the place, and surrounded the house, before his approach was known. The general having no means of defence, surrendered, as prisoner of war. This misfortune made a very serious impression on the American army, and was particularly regretted by Washington, who had a very high respect for his military talents and bravery.

Gen. Sullivan, on whom the command of Lee's division now devolved, joined Washington promptly, and on the same day he was reinforced by Gen. Gates, with a part of the northern army. His effective force was now increased to seven thousand effective men.

Gen. Howe having failed in all his attempts to obtain boats to transport his army over the Delaware, retired to winter quarters. From the position and distribution of his army, it was however, most probable, that his intention was to avail himself of the ice during the winter, and having crossed the river, to make an attempt on Philadelphia.

The aspect of affairs at this time, was most unfortunate to America. The losses of the last campaign had been great and discouraging. In some parts of the country, the people clamoured against the commander in chief, and attributed his want of success to want of abilities. Washington was well aware that there existed impressions against him, and that the cause of his country, as well as his own reputation, must suffer under such repeated misfortunes. He therefore formed a design on the enemy, which if successful, would retrieve the losses, he had sustained, and give the affairs of the country a much more favorable aspect.

Howe had quartered his army in a very dispersed situation along the Delaware, viz. at Trenton, Burlington, Bordentown, &c.

Washington had formed the daring plan of attacking at once all the British posts on the Delaware. With this view, Gen. Irvine* was ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton, and secure the bridge below, so as to prevent the escape of the enemy that way. Gen. Cadwalader was to carry the post at Burlington, while Washington in person took command of a division against Trenton.

In consequence of the difficulty of crossing the river, those parts of the plan entrusted to Generals Irvine and Cadwalader entirely failed. But General Washington was completely successful. The British commander at Trenton, Col. Rawle, was killed at the commencement of the action, and his troops finding themselves surrounded, laid down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war. Twenty of the enemy were killed and one thousand taken prisoners. Six pieces of artillery, and one thousand stands of arms were also taken. On the part of the Americans, two privates were killed, two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates wounded.

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* William Irvine, a brave officer in the American war, was a native of Ireland and was educated for the medical profession, which he relinquished at the commencement of the revolution. He had an early command in the army, and in the expedition to Canada, in 1775, was conspicuous for his talents and bravery. In the operations in the middle states, during the remainder of the war, he was consulted by the commander in chief. and was particularly obnoxious to the enemy. After the war, he was a member of Congress from Pennsylvania. He died at Philadelphia, July 30, 1804, aged sixty-three years. Major General Irvine held for some time before his death, the office of military intendant. He was also president of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. Frank and sincere, he paid respect to none but those whom he deemed worthy, and those for whom he had no regard, he shunned in silence.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

Nothing could surpass the astonishment, on the part of the enemy, at the news of this surprise. Washington's condition at that time, was thought desperate. He had been deserted by all his troops, which had a legal right to leave him, and a considerable proportion of those remaining would soon leave him, by the termination of the period of their enlistment. Indeed it was thought both by friends and foes, that he would not be able to hold out much longer. This bold and fortunate enterprise, announced to Gen. Howe, that the war was not so near a termination as he had imagined. Lord Cornwallis, who had prepared to embark for England, was directed to remain and the British army was again put in motion, though in the depth of winter.

Washington in the meantime, had contrived to increase his army to about five thousand men, and had determined to do something during the winter.

The British army under Cornwallis, were in force at Princeton, where they had thrown up works for defence. The American army being at Trenton, an attack was expected. Accordingly on the 2d of January, 1777, the British army moved towards the American camp, and on its approach, Washington withdrew to the opposite side of a small creek, which runs through the town, and there drew up his army. The enemy finding that all the fords were guarded, halted for the night and kindled their fires. The Americans did the same. But Washington found his situation a critical one. If he lay where he was till morning, the enemy would certainly attack and cut him off. He therefore formed the daring plan of moving off in the night, and attacking the rear of the enemy at Princeton, where it was probable only sufficient force had been left to guard their baggage. Accordingly at one o'clock, on the night of the 3d of January, having replenished the wood on their fires, the army moved silently off. About sunrise they fell in with three British regiments, which had encamped during the night, at Allentown, near Princeton, and a sharp engagement ensued. The British finally gave way, with the loss of one hundred killed, and three hundred taken prisoners.

The loss on the side of the Americans, in killed was nearly equal to that of the enemy, and among them was included Gen. Mercer,* of Virginia, a very brave and valuable officer. The commander in chief now finding it absolutely necessary to give his men rest, and to cover them from the inclemency of the season, went into winter quarters at Morristown.

The army of the middle states having retired to winter quarters, we will for the present leave them, and give a sketch of what happened at the North, during the period of the above transactions.

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* Hugh Mercer, a brigadier general in the late war, was a native of Scotland, and after his arrival in America he served with Washington in the war against the French and Indians, which terminated in 1763, and was greatly esteemed by him. He engaged zealously in support of the liberties of his adopted country. In the battle near Princeton, January 3, 1777, he commanded the van of the Americans, composed principally of southern militia, and while gallantly exerting himself to rally them received three wounds from a bayonet, of which he died January 19th. It is said, that he was stabbed after he had surrendered. He was a valuable officer and his character in private life was amiable. Provision was made by congress in 1793 for the education of his youngest son, Hugh Mercer.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

It has already been stated that the American army had been driven out of Canada. But it was a matter of the highest consequence, that the enemy should not gain possession of Lake Champlain and Lake George, as it was feared, the next step would be to reach Albany. If this should be effected, and the British army from the south should succeed in ascending the Hudson to the same place, the country would thus be divided from north to south, and in a great measure the eastern states be disconnected from the middle and southern. This was an event greatly dreaded, and perhaps only to be avoided by building a fleet on Lake Champlain, that should command it. With very great exertions therefore, the Americans built fifteen vessels, the largest of which mounted twelve guns; and Gen. Arnold was appointed to command on the Lake.

At the same time, the British with incredible exertion, built a fleet in about three months, consisting of twenty-six vessels, and mounting three times the weight of metal that Arnold's did. This great disparity did not however prevent him from hazarding a battle, in which after a most desperate contest, for several hours, he was finally overpowered by numbers, but made his escape with the loss of his fleet.

General Carlton, after this victory, proceeded on and took possession of Crown Point, and advanced a part of his fleet to Lake George, with a view on Ticonderoga. But finding that fortress garrisoned with eight or nine thousand men, with Generals Gates and Schuyler at their head, he thought prudent to withdraw to winter quarters. In the fall of this year, 1776, Gen. Howe planned an expedition against Rhode Island. Sir Henry Clinton with three thousand men, and Sir Peter Porter as commander of the fleet, were entrusted with its execution. They sailed from New York in November, and without much opposition took possession of Newport, and the island on which it stands. This movement occasioned great alarm in the states of Connecticut and Massachusetts, whose citizens apprehended an invasion. The enemy however intended it as a diversion, and at the same time to prevent the depredations which privateers, sailing from Narragansett bay, were in the practice of committing on them. During this winter every preparation, which an impoverished state of the public funds could permit, was made by Congress for the next campaign. The army was inoculated with the small pox. Regiments of militia were embodied. Soldiers were enlisted. Powder was manufactured. A loan of two millions was voted by Congress, and laws were enacted to prevent the depreciation of the paper currency.

At the same time, Lord Howe's proclamation of pardon, to such rebels as would throw down their arms, and own allegiance to the king, was producing less and less effect on the inhabitants. When this proclamation was first issued, considerable numbers in the state of New Jersey, complied with its requirements and took the oath of loyalty. At this time however, the British had complete control of that state, and the fear of suffering from loss of property, and perhaps of personal ill treatment from the soldiers, was a principal motive for taking the oath.

After the battles of Princeton and Trenton however, these motives no longer existed, and many joined the standard of Washington, who through fear, had before nominally been friends to the royal cause.

As the season for active operations approached, the greatest solicitude was felt by the commander in chief, to assemble his army, and the greatest anxiety on the part of the public, for the events of this campaign.

The British were by far the greatest in number, besides their vast superiority in respect to discipline and the munitions of war. It was therefore on account of the seat of war being in his own country, and by superior prudence and skill, that Washington could expect to sustain even his own ground.

The first act of Lord Howe, as the spring approached, was directed to the destruction of the scanty stores which the Americans had collected during the winter. At Peekskill on the Hudson, about fifty miles above New York, there had been deposited a small amount of military stores. Colonel Bird was detached up the river, in March, to destroy them. On his arrival, Col. M'Dougal who commanded about 200 men as a guard, finding that he could neither defend, nor remove these stores, set fire to the magazines and retreated. The conflagration was completed by the enemy, who then returned to New York.

At Danbury, on the western frontier of Connecticut, military stores to a considerable amount had also been deposited. These were supposed to be safe on account of the location, it being near twenty miles from the shore; and also because men had been ordered there for the double purpose of being inoculated and acting as a guard. The enemy however determined on an attempt to destroy them, and Maj. Gen. Tryon landed with two thousand men, on the 25th of April, for this purpose. They marched without opposition to the place, when Col. Huntington, who occupied the town with only one hundred and fifty militia, was obliged to withdraw. The enemy immediately set fire to the magazine and the town, and having destroyed both, began their retreat to regain the shipping. But this they did not effect unmolested. Gen. Sullivan soon raised five hundred militia, and was joined by Gen. Wooster, and Gen. Arnold, who happened to be in the neighbourhood. As the enemy retreated, they were attacked both in front and rear, and frequently with great gallantry by the militia. In one of those skirmishes, Gen. Wooster* was killed. As they arrived near their shipping, the enemy made a stand. Here the Americans charged them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken; and the enemy availing themselves of this circumstance, re-embarked for New York.

In this affair, the killed, wounded, and missing of the enemy, amounted to 170. The American loss was much less in number; but the death of Gen. Wooster was greatly regretted, as he was a brave and influential officer. In the magazines, hospital and military stores to a large amount were destroyed, all of which were greatly needed by the army. The loss of about one thousand tents was particularly felt, as the campaign was just opening, and they could not be replaced.

Gen. Howe having received some reinforcements from Europe, began about the beginning of June, to pass his army from New York over into Jersey; and on the 14th having moved as far as Brunswick, he left a garrison there and proceeded in two columns towards the Delaware. This movement was made with the intention of bringing the American army out of their strong hold at Middlebrook, and thus obliging Washington to hazard an engagement with his whole force. Washington however thought it most prudent to defend his camp at that time, and accordingly drew up his army in order of battle to receive Gen. Howe. But the British commander thought most prudent to decline the attack on his camp.

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* David Wooster, major general in the revolutionary war, was born at Stratford in 1711, and was graduated at Yale College, in 1738. At the commencement of the war with Great Britain, he was appointed to the chief command of the troops in the service of Connecticut, and made a brigadier general in the continental service; but this commission he afterwards resigned. In 1776 he was appointed the first major general of the militia of his native state. While opposing a detachment of British troops, whose object was to destroy the public stores at Danbury, he was mortally wounded at Ridgfield, April 27, 1777, and died on the second of May.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

The great object of Howe at this time, was the possession of Philadelphia, but this could only be attained by the defeat of Washington's army. But the latter perceived his design, and determined to avoid a general engagement. Howe finding all attempts to provoke an engagement abortive, retreated suddenly to Staten Island, where his army embarked on board the fleet. The destination of this fleet now became a subject of the most perplexing anxiety in the mind of Washington.

Whether Gen. Howe intended to direct his force against Charleston or the Eastern states, or by a bolder movement penetrate the Hudson, with the view of forming a conjunction with Burgoyne, who was then at Ticonderoga, was uncertain. That some great movement was to be made, was certain, and that one of these was the object, Washington had strong grounds to believe.

During this state of anxious perplexity concerning the movements of the enemy, good news of an unexpected nature arrived from the eastward.

It has been already mentioned, that the British army had taken possession of Newport, and the island on which it stands. Gov. Prescott the commanding officer there, thinking himself perfectly secure on an Island guarded by the British fleet, indulged himself in comfortable quarters, at a distance from his camp. Lieut. Col. Barton of the American army, hearing of this negligence, collected forty brave men, and determined on the bold enterprize of seizing the person of the British General. They accordingly took boats from Warwick neck, on the opposite side of the bay, and in the night landed safely on the Island. They then marched a mile to the General's quarters, and seized the sentinel at the door, and proceeding to the general's lodging room, took him out of bed, and conveyed him to a place of safety. Congress presented Col. Barton with a sword, as a mark of their approbation for this successful enterprize.

Having thus given a short history of the principal transactions of the American war, from its commencement, to the period when Gen. La Fayette arrived in this country, it is now time to turn our attention more particularly to him, and the part he took in that struggle for freedom.

CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL OF LA FAYETTE—HE OFFERS TO SERVE AS A VOLUNTEER IN THE AMERICAN ARMY—COMMISSIONED BY CONGRESS, &c.

La Fayette espoused the cause of America in 1776. At that period Silas Deane, Esq. was minister of the United States to the court of France. He had engaged a number of French officers of ability and experience to embark for America, with recommendations for commissions from Congress. Among others who made application to be engaged in this enterprize, was young La Fayette. But understanding that he was a young gentleman of noble birth, and great fortune, this offer was considered as the romantic precipitancy of youth. His friends also, seeing at best nothing but dangers and hardship in this undertaking, used every means to dissuade him from it. Finding his determination to proceed to America fixed, Mr. Deane was willing to encourage him; but at that time there was little expectation in France, that the American colonies could maintain their declaration of independence. Washington's army on the Delaware, was reduced to about two thousand men, and these were in want of many articles, necessary to make them effective soldiers; while the royal army in the same neighbourhood, was from twenty to thirty thousand strong, and in want of nothing which could render it effective.

Under these circumstances, the credit of the American states was so low in France, that our commissioner there found it impossible to procure a vessel to convey the Marquis and their despatches to the American Congress. These facts being stated to La Fayette by the commissioners, with an intimation that they could not feel justified to encourage him under such a state of things, he replied, that his determination to embark for America was still unshaken, and that this embarrassment could be overcome by his purchasing and fitting out a vessel at his own expense.

This project was deemed so important and extraordinary, that it attracted universal attention. The French court, at that time, had not declared openly for America, though Franklin was then at Paris, secretly making his negociation. On this account, orders were publicly issued to prevent his departure, though it is understood that the administration privately encouraged the enterprise. What he most feared, was the danger to which he would be exposed, of falling into the hands of the English, on his passage; in which case he would be subjected to confinement for an uncertain length of time, and probably to the most rigorous treatment. This thought, however, had no weight, after his purpose was fixed. He embarked for America in the winter of 1777, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, in the spring of that year. He landed soon after the noble defence of that place by Gen. Moultrie, at the fort on Sullivan's Island. Charmed with the gallantry displayed by that officer and his brave troops, and probably finding the latter miserably clad and armed, he presented the general with clothing, arms and accoutrements for one hundred of his men.*

From Charleston, he immediately proceeded to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session, and having delivered his despatches from the American commissioners, he informed that body, that he had come from France for the express purpose of serving as a volunteer in their cause, and that without any compensation. Congress being struck with admiration at the generous and lofty sentiments of the young nobleman, proceeded to the adoption of the following preamble and resolution. "Whereas the Marquis la Fayette, in consequence of his ardent zeal for the cause of liberty in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and friends, and crossed the ocean at his own expense, to offer his services to the said states, without wishing to accept of any pension or pay whatever, and as he earnestly desires to engage in our cause, Congress have resolved, that his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his patriotism, his family, and illustrious relations, he shall hold the rank and commission of major general in the army of the United States."

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* Thacher.

This resolution was passed July 31, 1777, and the general immediately repaired to Washington's camp as a volunteer.

At that time the American and British armies were reconnoitering each other, in the neighbourhood of the Brandywine river, in New Jersey, and an engagement was expected soon to take place.

On the 9th of September, Washington crossed the river with his whole army, and took post at a place called Chadd's ford, which it was his intention to guard, and prevent the enemy from crossing. On the evening of that day, Lord Howe marched forward and encamped at New Garden, about seven miles from the American lines. On the morning of the 11th, Washington received information, that his adversary was coming upon him by the road leading directly to Chadd's ford. It was now seen that the British commander intended to bring on a general engagement, nor did Washington avoid it, as it was considered impossible to protect Philadelphia, without defeating the enemy.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, it was ascertained that the royal army, commanded by Sir William Howe, in person, and Lord Cornwallis, was approaching. The advance was made in three columns, but on coming in sight of the Americans, the royal troops were instantly formed in line of battle, and the action soon begun. On both sides it was supported with gallantry for a time, but the Americans on the right first gave way, and very soon afterwards, that wing was completely routed. There was an immediate attempt made to rally, but the rout in a few moments became general, as did the flight. In this battle, La Fayette displayed great bravery, never avoiding danger, but encouraging his men by his own example to maintain the action with intrepidity and firmness. On this occasion he was badly wounded in the leg.

In his communication to Congress after this battle, Washington says of La Fayette, " from the disposition he discovered at the battle of Brandywine, he possesses a large share of bravery and military ardor."*

The loss of the Americans in this action was three hundred killed, and about six hundred wounded. Four hundred of the wounded were taken prisoners.

After the battle, Washington retreated to Chester, and then to Philadelphia. Howe pursued him, and after various skirmishes, in which the American army was always unsuccessful, he crossed the Schuylkill on the 22nd of September.

It was now evident, that nothing but an immediate engagement and victory, could save the capital from the possession of the British general. Such, however, was the condition of the American army, that the commander in chief did not dare to hazard an engagement so decisive. He therefore directed Col. Hamilton to remove all the military stores and other public property from Philadelphia up the Delaware to a place of safety, and on the 26th of September, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the British and Hessian grenadiers, took possession of the city without opposition.

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* Official letters.

On the first intelligence of Washington's defeat at Brandywine, Congress fixed on Lancaster as a place of retirement and safety, in the event that the enemy should take possession of the capital, where they reassembled on the 27th.

Lord Cornwallis having taken peaceable possession of Philadelphia and Germantown, a division of his army was encamped at each of these places. The expected reinforcements having joined the American army, Washington found, on the 30th of September, that his effectual force amounted to eight thousand regular troops, and three thousand militia. With this force, he determined to approach the enemy at Germantown, and give them battle.

The necessary arrangements being made, on the 4th of October, the American army moved to the attack. During the first period of the engagement, every movement succeeded to the utmost of Washington's expectations. But owing to peculiar circumstances, the Americans were repulsed with the loss of two hundred killed, and six hundred taken prisoners. The loss of the enemy was stated at five hundred killed and wounded.

Gen. La Fayette, as soon as his wound permitted, joined Gen. Greene,* who was then in New Jersey.

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* Nathaniel Greene, a major general of the army of the United States, was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, about the year 1740 His parents were quakers. His father was an anchor smith, who was concerned in some valuable iron works, and transacted much business. While he was a boy, he learned the Latin language, chiefly by his own unassisted industry. Having procured a small library, his mind was much improved, though the perusal of military history occupied a considerable share of his attention. Such was the estimation in which his character was held, that he was at an early period of his life chosen a member of the assembly of Rhode Island. After the battle of Lexington had enkindled at once the spirit of Americans

But as yet, although he had been constantly with the army, he had not been invested with any separate

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throughout the whole continent, Mr. Greene, though educated in the peaceful principles of the friends, could not extinguish the martial ardor, which had been excited in his own breast. Receiving the command of three regiments, with the title of brigadier general, he led them to Cambridge; in consequence of which, the quakers renounced all connexion with him, as a member of their religious body. On the arrival of Washington at Cambridge, he was the first who expressed to the commander in chief his satisfaction in his appointment, and he soon gained his entire confidence. He was appointed by Congress major general in August, 1776. In the battles of Trenton, on the 26th of December following, and of Princeton, on the 3d of January, 1777, he was much distinguished. He commanded the left wing of the American army at the battle of Germantown, on the 4th of October. In March, 1778, he was appointed quarter master general, which office he accepted, on condition, that his rank in the army should not be affected, and that he should retain his command in the time of action. This right he exercised on the 28th of June, at the battle of Monmouth. His courage and skill were again displayed on the 29th of August, in Rhode Island. He resigned in this year the office of quarter master general, and was succeeded by Col. Pickering. After the disasters which attended the American arms in South Carolina, he was appointed to supersede Gates, and he took the command in the southern department, December 3, 1780. Having recruited the army, which had been exceedingly reduced by defeat and desertion, he sent out a detachment under the brave general Morgan, who gained the important victory at the Cowpens, January 17, 1781. Greene effected a junction with him on the 7th of February, but on account of the superior numbers of Cornwallis, he retreated with great skill to Virginia. Having received an accession to his forces, he returned to North Carolina, and in the battle of Guilford, on the 15th of March, was defeated. The victory, however, was dearly bought by the British, for their loss was greater than that of the Americans, and no advantages were derived from it. In command. Being full of military ardor, and anxious, by some feat, to display his courage and attachment to

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a few days, Cornwallis began to march towards Wilmington, leaving many of his wounded behind him, which had the appearance of a retreat, and Greene followed him for some time. But altering his plan, he resolved to recommence offensive operations in South Carolina. He accordingly marched directly to Camden, where on the 25th of April, he was engaged with Lord Rawdon. Victory inclined for some time to the Americans, but the retreat of two companies occasioned the defeat of the whole army. Greene retreated in good order, and took such measures as effectually prevented Lord Rawdon from improving his success, and obliged him in the beginning of May to retire beyond the Santee. While he was in the neighbourhood of Santee, Greene hung in one day, eight soldiers, who had deserted from his army. For three months afterwards, no instance of desertion took place. A number of forts and garrisons in South Carolina now fell into his hands He commenced the siege of Ninety-six on the 22nd of May, but he was obliged, on the approach of Lord Rawdon, in June, to raise the siege. The army, which had been highly encouraged by the late success, was now reduced to the melancholy necessity of retreating to the extremity of the state. The American commander was advised to retire to Virginia ; but to suggestions of this kind, he replied, " I will recover South Carolina, or die in the attempt." Waiting till the British forces were divided, he faced about, and Lord Rawdon was pursued in his turn, and was offered battle after he reached his encampment at Orangeburgh, but he declined it. On the 8th of September, Greene covered himself with glory by the victory at the Eutaw springs, in which the British, who fought with the utmost bravery, lost eleven hundred men, and the Americans about half that number. For his good conduct in this action, Congress presented him with a British standard and a golden medal. This engagement may be considered as closing the revolutionary war in South Carolina. During the remainder of his command he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties from the want of the American cause, he complained to the commander in chief of the neglect of government in this respect, and requested that he might have a command equal to his military rank. In a letter to Congress, dated Nov. 1, 1777, Washington makes known to that body the request of the young Marquis, and intimates his own desire that it should be granted. " From a consideration of his illustrious and important connexions," says he, " the attachment which he has manifested for our

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supplies for his troops. Strong symptoms of mutiny appeared, but his firmness and decision completely quelled it.

After the conclusion of the war, he returned to Rhode Island, where the greatest dissensions prevailed, and his endeavors to restore harmony were attended with success. In October, 1785, he sailed to Georgia, where he had a considerable estate, not far distant from Savannah. Here he passed his time as a private citizen, occupied by domestic concerns. While walking without an umbrella, the intense rays of the sun overpowered him, and occasioned an inflammation of the brain, of which he died, June 19, 1786, in the forty seventh year of his age. In August following, Congress ordered a monument to be erected to his memory at the seat of the federal government.

General Greene possessed a humane and benevolent disposition, and abhorring the cruelties and excesses, of which partizans on both sides were guilty, he uniformly inculcated a spirit of moderation. Yet he was resolutely severe, when the preservation of discipline rendered severity necessary. In the campaign of 1781, he displayed the prudence, the military skill, the unshaken firmness, and the daring courage, which are seldom combined, and which place him in the first rank of American officers. His judgment was correct, and his self possession never once forsook him. In one of his letters he says, that he was seven months in the field, without taking off his clothes for a single night. It is thought, that he was the most endeared to the commander in chief of all his associates in arms. Washington often lamented his death with the keenest sorrow.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

cause, and the consequences which his return in disgust might produce, it appears to me that it will be advisable to gratify his wishes."*

Congress, however, did not immediately act on this subject. The singularity of the case was such as to require some deliberation. There was no precedent in the American army, or perhaps in any other army, for investing a youth of nineteen or twenty with the full power and command of a major general in the regular service. But Washington, whose opinion on such a subject was not inferior to any man's, having again addressed Congress by a letter dated Nov. 27th, in behalf of the Marquis, "I should be happy," says he, "in your determination respecting the Marquis de la Fayette. He is more and more solicitous to be in actual service, and is pressing in his applications for a command. I ventured before to submit my sentiments upon the measure; and I still fear a refusal will not only induce him to return in disgust, but may involve some unfavourable consequences. There are now some recent divisions in the army, to one of which he may be appointed, if it should be the pleasure of Congress. I am convinced he possesses a large share of that military ardor which generally characterizes the nobility of his country. He went to New Jersey with General Greene, and I find he has not been inactive there. This you will perceive by the following extract from a letter just received from General Greene."

"The Marquis, with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, attacked the enemy's picquet, last evening, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behavior of the militia and rifle corps; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground until dark. The enemy's picquet consisted of about three hundred men, and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger."

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* Official letters.

Such being the opinions of Washington and Greene, and such the solicitude of the young nobleman to obtain a command, Congress gratified him to the extent of his wishes. He was permitted to take the command, as a major general, of a select corps of twelve hundred young men, which he was empowered to select himself, from the army. This number was afterwards increased to two thousand.

This corps the General disciplined with great care and attention, and never was attachment stronger between a general and his army than between La Fayette and this corps. Having reduced them to some degree of discipline, he presented each of his officers with an elegant new sword, and each of his soldiers, clothing, arms and equipments throughout; and this entirely at his own expense. General La Fayette's division became the flower of the American army.

The enemy having possession of Philadelphia, and there being no hopes at present of dislodging him by an engagement, it became the object of Washington to make his situation there as comfortless as possible. With this view, obstructions were thrown into the Delaware, to prevent the enemy's ships from ascending. The forts on this river were also garrisoned, and every precaution taken to prevent the enemy from obtaining them. After these dispositions for defending the river, the next object was to cut off all communication between the city and the country, so that no supplies designed for the army should be carried in. With this view, the militia in the surrounding country were directed to watch the roads, and to intercept such persons as were known to be supplying the enemy. For the same purpose, a detachment of six hundred men were stationed so as to watch the country between the Schuylkill and Chester.

To enforce all these exertions, Congress passed an act, subjecting to martial law and to death, all such persons as should furnish the British army with provisions.

The fort at Red Bank being of great consequence to the enemy, as it commanded the Delaware, Lord Howe detached Col. Count Donop, a German officer, with 1200 men, to surprise and take it. It was accordingly attacked with great intrepidity, on the evening of the 22nd of October. But it was defended by Col. Greene, of Rhode Island, in so spirited a manner, that the enemy were repulsed with great loss. Count Donop, while leading on his troops, was killed. The next in command was also killed. The command then fell on Col. Linsing, who drew off his troops, and retreated to Philadelphia.

In this attempt the enemy lost 400 men, while the Americans lost only thirty-two men, killed and wounded.

Lord Howe's attack on the two other forts, Mifflin and Mercer, proved more unfortunate for the Americans. In the defence of fort Mifflin, Washington's army displayed undaunted bravery, but was finally overpowered, and this important fortification, as well as fort Mercer, fell into the hands of the enemy.—Thus Lord Howe after a struggle of six weeks possessed himself of Philadelphia, and secured the avenues leading to it.

A plan was now suggested by some officers of high rank, to attack the enemy in Philadelphia. But after mature consideration, the commander in chief decided that the affairs of America, did not require so desperate an undertaking, and the measure was abandoned.

While an attempt on Philadelphia was a subject of discussion in the American camp, Washington obtained intelligence that Lord Howe was preparing for an attack on his camp at White Marsh. The American army was therefore placed in the best condition possible to sustain the conflict.

On the night of the 4th of December, the whole British force marched out of the city, and encamped at Chesnut hill, about three miles from the Americans. Some slight skirmishing ensued, and a general engagement was every moment expected to take place. But his Lordship having reconnoitered the position of his adversary, and spent two whole days in manœuvering in his immediate vicinity, suddenly withdrew and retreated to Philadelphia.

The season now absolutely required that the American army should be covered from its inclemency, and being in the vicinity of the enemy, a strong position was necessary for its safety.

A very strong and commanding piece of ground, was selected for this purpose at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between twenty and thirty miles from Philadelphia, and on the 11th of December the army moved to take possession of it. Having expressed the strongest approbation of the conduct of his army during the last campaign, and presented them with an encouraging account of the future prospects of the country, the commander in chief issued his general order, for fixing the lines of the cantonment, and the erection of huts in which the soldiers were to spend the winter.

On taking a review of the last campaign, under the immediate direction of the commander in chief, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that nothing but the most consummate military skill, added to the greatest prudence and soundest judgment, could have saved such an army as Washington's from the grasp of his powerful adversary. Still we have to regret, that after all the sufferings to which they were exposed, nothing of importance was done, no decisive action was fought, and we cannot but indulge feelings of pity towards the commander, that he could not have been furnished with men and arms, in some degree adequate to the exigency of his circumstances.

But the cause of America was not every where so unsuccessful. While Washington in Pennsylvania, could do no more than save his little army from destruction, Gen. Gates at Saratoga obtained a most brilliant and important victory, over the common enemy.

The project of the British, to effect a junction between the armies of the North and South, by way of Albany and the Hudson, has already been mentioned. The detail of this project had been fixed on at the cabinet of St. James, and Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne was entrusted with its execution.

Having advanced by the way of Lake Champlain, Ticonderoga, and Fort Anne, every obstacle in his course was overcome. Ticonderoga, Skeensborough, and Fort Anne, were each in succession evacuated at his approach. Gen. Schuyler, who at that time commanded the northern department of the American army, displayed the most consummate knowledge of his profession, in preparing for the approach of his more powerful antagonist.

Just on the approach of the royal army at Saratoga however, Gen. Schulyer was superseded by Gen. Gates; but while the name of Gates only, is connected with the defeat of Burgoyne, it is but justice to remember, that Schuyler was the great instrument by which Gates won his renown.

Having arrived at Saratoga, Burgoyne for the double purpose of supplying himself, and annoying the Americans, detached Col. Baum with a strong detachment to Bennington in Vermont, to take, or destroy the magazines at that place. On approaching the place of his destination, he found a more considerable force there than was expected. Gen. Starke* with a body of militia, had fortunately reached there on his march to the camp. Stark attacked Baum in his entrench-

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* General Stark was a native of Londonderry, in New

Hampshire, and was born August 17th, 1728. When at the age of 21 years, he was, while on a hunting excursion, surprised and captured by the Indians, and remained four months a prisoner in their hands. He was captain of a company of rangers in the provincial service, during the French war of 1755. and was with the British General Lord Howe, when he was killed in storming the French lines at Ticonderoga, in July, 1758. At the close of that war he retired with the reputation of a brave, and vigilant officer. When the report of Lexington battle reached him, he was engaged at work in his saw-mill; fired with indignation and a martial spirit, he immediately seized his musket, and with a band of heroes proceeded to Cambridge. The morning after his arrival he received a colonel's commission, and availing himself of his own popularity, and the enthusiasm of the day, in two hours he enlisted eight hundred men! On the memorable 17th of June, at Breed's hill, Colonel Stark at the head of his back-woodsmen of New Hampshire, poured on the enemy that deadly fire, from a sure aim, which effected such remarkable destruction in their ranks, and compelled them twice to retreat. During the whole of this dreadful conflict, Col. Stark evinced that consummate bravery and intrepid zeal, which entitle his name to honor and perpetual remembrance in the pages of our history. After the British evacuated Boston, Col. Stark joined our northern army while retreating from Canada, and he had the command of a party of troops who were employed in fortifying the post of Mount Independence. We next find him at Trenton, in December, 1776, where he shared largely in the honors of that ever memorable battle under Washington, when the Hessians were captured. But Stark reached the climax of his fame, when in one of the darkest and most desponding periods of the American war, he achieved a glorious victory over the enemy at Bennington. Gen. Burgoyne, after possessing himself of Ticonderoga in July, 1776, and while advancing at the head of his victorious army towards Albany, conceived the design of taking by surprize a quantity of stores which our people had deposited at Bennington. For ments, and his works were carried by storm. A total defeat of the royal party ensued, and most of Baum's detachment were killed or taken prisoners.

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this enterprize he despatched a German officer, Lieut. Col. Baum, with one thousand five hundred soldiers and one hundred Indians, with two field pieces Stark was at this time brigadier general of militia, and was in the vicinity with about one thousand four hundred brave men from New Hampshire. He advanced towards the enemy and drew up his men in a line of battle. Colonel Baum deeming it imprudent to engage with his present force, halted his troops and sent an express to Burgoyne for a reinforcement, and in the mean time entrenched and rendered himself as defensible as possible.

Gen. Burgoyne immediately despatched Col Breyman, with about one thousand troops, to reinforce Col. Baum; but a heavy rain and bad roads prevented his arrival in season. Col. Stark, on the 16th of August, planned his mode of attack, and a most severe action ensued, which continued about two hours, with an incessant firing of musketry and the enemy's field artillery. Col. Baum defended himself with great bravery till he received a mortal wound, and his whole party was defeated. It was not long after, that Col. Breyman appeared with his reinforcement, and another battle ensued, which continued obstinate on both sides till sunset, when the Germans yielded, and the victory on our side was complete, the trophies of which were four brass field pieces, and more than seven hundred prisoners. For a more particular detail of this enterprize see page one hundred and eleven of this volume. Congress, on the 4th of October following, passed a resolve of thanks to Col. Stark, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack and signal victory, and that Col Stark be appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States. Gen. Stark volunteered his services under Gen. Gates at Saratoga, and assisted in the council which stipulated the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, nor did he relinquish his valuable services till he could greet his native country as an Independent Empire. Gen. Stark was of the middle stature, not formed by nature to exhibit an erect sol-

In this action the Americans took one thousand stands of arms and nine hundred swords. This was a very seasonable and important supply for the militia. Meantime Burgoyne encamped on the heights of Saratoga, and prepared himself to decide, by a general engagement, the event of his expedition.

Gen. Gates having now assumed the command of the northern army, and being joined by all the troops designed for his department, advanced towards the enemy as far as the neighbourhood of Stillwater.

On the 19th of September, Burgoyne advanced in full force on the American army. The left wing commanded by Arnold, was first engaged. The action then became general, and was continued with great obstinacy and dreadful carnage on both sides, till night. Each claimed the victory, but the Americans decidedly had the advantage. The killed and wounded on their part were between three and four hundred. The loss of the enemy exceeded five hundred in killed and wounded.

In this action, Col. Morgan,* with his corps of rifle-

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dierly mien. His manners were frank, and unassuming, but he manifested a peculiar sort of eccentricity and negligence, which precluded all display of personal dignity, and seemed to place him among those of ordinary rank in life. But as a courageous and heroic soldier, he is entitled to high rank among those who have been crowned with unfading laurels, and to whom a large share of glory is justly due. His character as a private citizen was unblemished, and he was ever held in respect. For the last few years of his life, he enjoyed a pecuniary bounty from the government. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-three years, eight months and twenty-four days, and died May 8th, 1822.—*Thacher's Journal*

* Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, was born in New Jersey, from whence he emigrated to Virginia, in 1775.—He was a poor day labourer. But when Braddock went on his expedition, Morgan joined him, and received in battle a

severe wound. When a young man he was extremely dissipated, fond of jovial and pugilistic company and drinking, and always took his part in any affray or fight, which happened in his presence.* The village where he lived was called *Battletown*, probably from the many furious combats which took place under the banners of Morgan.

When a company of riflemen was to be raised in Frederic County, Virginia, at the beginning of the revolution, he was pointed out as the man best qualified to command it, and some of the finest young men in the country joined his corps

With this company, he marched through the wilderness with Arnold, to surprize Quebec, one of the most hazardous enterprizes ever undertaken by a soldier, and was at the disastrous assault of that city, when the brave Montgomery fell. Here he gave such proofs of his daring courage and good conduct, as to make his name famous in the army. He was however overpowered and taken prisoner by the enemy. While in confinement, a British officer came to Morgan and told him that his spirit and enterprize were worthy a better cause ; and that if he would leave the American interest, and join the British, he was authorised to offer him the commission and rank of a colonel in the royal army.—Morgan rejected this offer with disdain, and told the officer, " that he hoped he would never again make him a proposition which plainly showed he thought him a rascal "

After his exchange, at the recommendation of Washington, he was honored by Congress, with a colonel's commission. In 1777, a rifle regiment was ordered to be formed, by selecting the men from companies already formed, and Colonel Morgan was appointed to the command This celebrated corps was of the utmost consequence to the service on many trying occasions, and never more so than at the taking of Burgoyne ; and yet Gen. Gates, in consequence of a private pique, never mentioned him in his official account of the battle to congress.

After assisting in the victory at the north, Morgan again

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men, was of very material service, in consequence of his attacking and beating the Indians and Canadians in the woods.

After the battle, Gen. Gates, whose numbers increased daily, occupied his former position, at Stillwater, and Gen. Burgoyne took post almost within cannon shot of the American camp. Both armies retained their positions until the 7th of October ; the British general in hope of being relieved by the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from Canada, and Gen. Gates, in the expectation of growing so strong by the arrival of militia, as to make sure of his adversary.

But all hopes of relief being at an end, and Burgoyne finding that his provisions would not enable him to hold out more than three or four days longer, determined to hazard another engagement. In this also, the Americans gained a decided advantage. Burgoyne then took a stronger position, while Gates, instead of attacking him, very properly threw his army into such a position as entirely to cut off his retreat. Burgoyne, however, attempted to make his escape in the night, but found it impossible to remove his artillery, or heavy baggage. He found also, that General Gates had taken the precaution to guard all the passes at which a retreat could have been made.

In this hopeless condition of his army, Burgoyne had the severe mortification of being compelled to of-

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joined Washington, who always chose to have him and his corps, under his own command. He afterwards served under Gates and Greene, at the south, and always with great reputation.

In 1781, Congress appointed him a brigadier general by brevet, and having served his country to the close of the war, he retired to his farm in Frederic County, where he spent the remainder of his days. As he approached the close of life, he resorted to religion for that consolation, which reflection on his former conduct could not give. He manifested great penitence for the folly and wretchedness of his early days, and joined the Presbyterian church in full communion, with which he continued to his last day.

fer to an American general terms of capitulation for himself and all under his command.

The terms agreed on were, that the British army should march out of their camp with all the honours of war; that they should then lay down their arms, and not serve against America until exchanged.

This was one of the most splendid achievments acquired by the American arms during the revolution. The whole number which surrendered was nearly six thousand. Besides which, the Americans obtained a fine train of artillery; seven thousand stands of arms; clothing for seven thousand recruits, about to be enlisted in the country; a great number of tents, and a large amount of military stores.

These articles were all exceedingly needed by the almost naked and poorly armed Americans.

Nothing could exceed the joy which this victory produced throughout the United States. It was supposed that the contest was now nearly at an end, and that this blow decided the independence of America.

On the British cabinet a very different sensation was produced. The conquest of America had been considered by that cabinet as nearly completed, and it was generally believed that the rebels would not, or could not, hold out another campaign. This news carried with it a conviction, that the conquest of America was much more easily effected by the ministers at St. James', than by their officers and soldiers in the field of battle.

But while the feelings of triumph, and the shouts of joy, pervaded the country on account of Gates' victory, a gloomy and distressing spectacle presented itself at Valley Forge.

" In the month of December," says Dr. Thacher, " the troops were employed in erecting log huts for winter quarters, when about one half of the men were destitute of small clothes, shoes and stockings; some thousands were without blankets, and were obliged to warm themselves over fires all the night, after the fatigues of the day, instead of reposing in comfortable lodgings. At one time, nearly three thousand men were returned unfit for duty from want of clothing, and it was not uncommon to track the march of the men, over ice and frozen ground, by the blood from their naked feet. Several times during the winter, they experienced little less than a famine in camp,* and more than once, the general officers were alarmed by the fear of a total dissolution of the army, from the want of provisions. For two or three weeks in succession, the men were on half allowance, and for four or five days without bread, and for as many without beef or pork. It was with great difficulty that men enough could be found in a condition fit to discharge the military duties of the camp from day to day, and for this purpose, those who were naked borrowed of those who had clothes. It cannot be deemed strange, that sickness and mortality were the consequence of such privations in the midst of an inclement season. This was the unhappy condition of that army, on whom Washington had to rely for the defence of every thing held most dear by Americans; and this too, while situated within sixteen miles of a powerful adversary, with a greatly superior army of veterans, watching with a vigilant eye for an opportunity to effect its destruction."

Notwithstanding this miserable condition of the army in the immediate vicinity of Congress, that body in the course of the winter started and matured a plan for an expedition to Canada, for the purpose of making another trial to annex that colony to the United States.

The full confidence which Congress reposed in the military talents and bravery of the young marquis, was evinced on this occasion. He was appointed to command the expedition, with Generals Conway* and Starke as second and third under his direction.

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* At one time, viz. on the 22nd of December, "the alarming fact was disclosed, that the commissary's stores were entirely exhausted, and that the last ration had been delivered and consumed."—*Marshall.*

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* Major general Thomas Conway, knight of the order of St. Louis. This gentleman was born in Ireland, and went with his parents to France, at the age of six years, and was from his youth educated to the profession of arms. He had obtained considerable reputation as a military officer, and as a man of sound understanding and judgment. He arrived from France, with ample recommendations, and Congress appointed him a brigadier general in May, 1777. He soon became conspicuously inimical to General Washington, and sought occasions to traduce his character. In this he found support from a faction in Congress, who were desirous that the commander in chief should be superseded. The Congress not long after elected General Conway to the office of inspector general to our army, with the rank of major general, though he had insulted the commander in chief, and justified himself in doing so. This gave umbrage to the brigadiers over whom he was promoted, and they remonstrated to Congress against the proceeding, as implicating their honor and character. Conway, now smarting under the imputation of having instigated a hostile faction against the illustrious Washington, and being extremely unpopular among the officers in general, and finding his situation did not accord with his feelings and views, resigned his commission, without having commenced the duties of inspector. He was believed to be an unprincipled intriguer, and after his resignation, his calumny and detraction of the commander in chief, and the army generally, was exercised with unrestrained virulence and outrage.

No man was more zealously engaged in the scheme of elevating General Gates to the station of commander in chief. His vile insinuations, and direct assertions in the public newspapers, and in private conversation, relative to the incapacity of Washington to conduct the operations of the army, received countenance from several members of Congress, who were induced to declare their want of con-

Judge Marshall gives the following notices of the Marquis, in his account of this proposed expedition.

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fidence in him, and the affair assumed an aspect threatening the most disastrous consequences. Conway maintained a correspondence with General Gates on the subject, and in one of his letters, he thus expresses himself. "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak General and bad counsellors would have ruined it." He was himself at that time, one of the couusellors, against whom he so basely inveighs. Envy and malice ever are attendant on exalted genius and merit. But the delusion was of short continuance; the name of Washington proved unassailable, and the base intrigue of Conway recoiled with bitterness on his own head. General Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, indignant at the attempt to vilify the character of Washington, resolved to avenge himself on the aggressor, in personal combat. In Major Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War, &c. we have the following detailed particulars of the duel. "The parties having declared themselves ready, the word was given to proceed. General Conway immediately raised his pistol, and fired with great composure, but without effect. General Cadwallader was about to do so, when a sudden gust of wind occurring, he kept his pistol down, and remained tranquil. "Why do you not fire, General Cadwallader?" exclaimed Conway "Because," replied General Cadwallader, "we came not here to trifle. Let the gale pass, and I shall act my part." "You shall have a fair chance of performing it well," rejoined Conway, and immediately presented a full front. General Cadwallader fired, and his ball entered the mouth of his antagonist; he fell directly forward on his face. Colonel Morgan, running to his assistance, found the blood spouting from behind his neck, and lifting up the club of his hair, saw the ball drop from it. It had passed through his head, greatly to the derangement of his tongue and teeth, but did not inflict a mortal wound. As soon as the blood was sufficiently washed away to allow him to speak, General Conway, turning to his opponent, said good humouredly, "You fire, general, with much deliberation, and certainly with a great deal of effect." The calls of honor being satisfied, all animosity

"This young Nobleman, possessing an excellent heart, and all the military enthusiasm of his country, had left France early in 1777, ostensibly in opposition to the will of his sovereign, to engage in the service of the United States. His high rank, and supposed influence at the court of Versailles, soon secured him the unlimited confidence of his countrymen in America, and, added to his frankness of manners and zeal in their cause, recommended him very strongly to Congress. While the claims of others of the same country were so exorbitant that they could not be gratified on the subject of rank, he demanded no station in the army, would consent to receive no compensation, and offered to serve as a volunteer. He had stipulated with Mr. Deane for the rank of Major General without emolument; but on the current of ill fortune (to the American army) which occurred late in the year 1777, he was advised not to embark. The honorary rank of

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subsided, and they parted free from all resentment. General Conway, conceiving his wound to be mortal, and believing death to be near, acted honourably, in addressing to General Washington, whom he had perfidiously slandered, the following letter of apology.

Philadelphia, February 23d, 1778.

Sir,

I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief, for having done, written, or said, any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, esteem and veneration of these states, whose liberties you have asserted, by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient and humble servant,
Ths. Conway.

Major General was conferred on him directly after his arrival in America, but without any immediate command. In this capacity, he sought for danger, and was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. He attached himself with the ardour of youth to the commander in chief, who felt for him in turn a warm and sincere friendship, and paved the way to bestowing on him a command equal to his rank.

" Without any previous information that such an expedition was contemplated, General Washington received from the president of the board of war, on the 24th of January, a letter, inclosing one of the same date to the Marquis, requiring his immediate attendance on Congress to receive his instructions. No other communication was made to the commander in chief, than to request that he would furnish Colonel Hazen's regiment, chiefly composed of Canadians, for the expedition, and in the same letter, his advice and opinion were asked respecting it. The north was relied on for furnishing the force with which the plan was to be executed. Without noticing the manner in which this business was conducted, and the unusual want of confidence it betrayed,* orders were given to Hazen's regiment to march to Albany, and the Marquis immediately to the residence of Congress. At his request, Major General the Baron De Kalb was added to the expedition ; after which he repaired in person to Albany, in order to take charge of the troops who were to be there assembled, and from whence he was to cross the lakes on the ice, and to attack Montreal.

On his arrival at Albany, he found no preparations made for the expedition. Nothing which had been promised was in readiness. He therefore abandoned the enterprise as totally impracticable. Some time afterwards, Congress also determined on its relinquishment; and General Washington was authorized to recall both the Marquis de la Fayette, and the Baron De Kalb.*

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* At the time when the expedition to Canada was projected, there was a party in Congress, who were plotting Washington's downfall, and had digested a plan to have him superseded by General Gates.

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* Major General Baron de Kalb was a German by birth; and, from the best information obtainable, must have served during the war of 1755 in some of the inferior stations of the quarter master general's department, in the imperial army operating with that of his most christian majesty; it being well ascertained by his acquaintances in our army, that he was intimately versed in the details of that department. Towards the close of that war he must have been despatched by the French court to North America, as he has himself often mentioned his having traversed the then British provinces in a concealed character; the objeet of which tour cannot be doubted, as the Baron never failed, when speaking of the existing war, to express his astonishment, how any government could have so blundered as to have effaced the ardent and deep affection which, to his own knowledge, existed on the part of the colonies to Great Britain, previous to the late rupture.—A preference, equalled only by their antipathy to the French nation, which was so powerful as to induce the Baron to consider it, as he called it, "instinctive."

Just before the peace, our incognitus, becoming suspected, was arrested, and for a few days he was imprisoned. On examination of his baggage and papers, nothing could be found confirming the suspicion which had induced his arrest, and he was discharged.

Such discovery was not practicable, as during this tour, the Baron declared, that he relied entirely upon his memory, which was singularly strong, never venturing to commit to paper the information of others or his own observations. On the restoration of peace the Baron returned to Europe, and came once more to America, in 1777 or 1778, recommended to Congress as an experienced soldier, worthy of confidence. A Brigadier in the service of France, he was

Washington informed Congress, in a letter dated April 10, that "Major General the Marquis de la Fay-

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honoured by Congress with the rrnk of Major General, and repaired to the main army, in which he served at the head of the Maryland division, very much respected.

Possessing a stout frame, with excellent health, no officer was more able to encounter the toils of war. Moderate in mental powers, as in literary acquirements, he excelled chiefly in practical knowledge of men and things, gained during a long life by close and accurate investigation of the cause and effect of passing events.

We all know that the court of France has been uniformly distinguished by its superior address and management in diving into the secrets of every nation, whether friend or foe, with whom it has relation.

The business of espionage has been brought in France to a science, and a regular trained corps, judiciously organized, is ever in the service of the court. Of this body there is strong reason to believe that the baron was a member, and probably one of the chief confidants of that government in the United States. No man was better qualified for the undertaking. He was sober, drinking water only; abstemious to excess; living on bread, sometimes with beef soup, at other times with cold beef; industrious, it being his constant habit to rise at five in the morning, light his candle, devote himself to writing, which was never intermitted during the day, but when interrupted by his short meals, or by attention to his official duty; and profoundly secret. He wrote in hieroglyphics, not upon sheets of paper, as is customary in camps, but in large folio books; which were carefully preserved, waiting to be transmitted to his unknown correspondent, whenever a safe opportunity might offer. He betrayed an unceasing jealousy, lest his journals and his mystic dictionary might be perused; and seemed to be very much in dread of losing his baggage; which, in itself, was too trifling to be regarded, and would only have attracted such unvarying care from the valuable paper deposit. He never failed to direct his quarter master to place him as near the centre of the army as was allowable, having an utter aversion to be in the vicinity of either flank, lest an adventuring partisan should carry off his baggage. What became of his journals is not known; but very probably he did not venture to take them into South Carolina; what is most probable, he placed such as remained in the hands of the French minister for transmission to Paris, when he was ordered to the South.

If he continued to write when marching to South Carolina, his progress must have been slow, as he was necessarily much engaged in the duties of his command, which became multiplied by the extreme difficulty with which subsistence was procurable. Whether his baggage was captured is not known to me; but it cannot be doubted, that his papers did not fall into the possession of the enemy; as in such event, we should probably have heard not only of the fact, but also of their contents. No man surpassed this gentleman in simplicity and condescension; which gave to his deportment a cast of amiability extremely ingratiating, exciting confidence and esteem. Although nearer seventy than sixty years of age, such had been the temperance of his life, that he not only enjoyed to the last day the finest health, but his countenance still retained the bloom of youth; which circumstance very probably led to the error committed by those who drew up the inscription on the monument, erected by order of Congress. This distinguished mark of respect was well deserved, and is herewith presented to the reader.

Resolved, that a monument be erected to the memory of the deceased Major General Baron de Kalb, in the town of Annapolis, in the state of Maryland, with the following inscription.

"Sacred to the memory of the Baron de Kalb, Knight of the royal order of military merit, Brigadier of the armies of France, and Major General in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honour and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind, and to the cause of America, in the action near Camden, in the state of South Carolina; where, leading on the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware against superior forces, and animating

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ette had arrived at camp, and would assume the command of his division."

In the month of April, 1778, the frigate La Sensible arrived from France, bringing the joyful intelligence, that a treaty of alliance and commerce had been formed between the United States of America and the kingdom of France. The joy which this important news diffused throughout the country may be conceived, when it is remembered that this event had been long expected, and that the delays were such, that it was seriously apprehended the negociation was likely to fail.

So early as 1775, the Americans had directed their attention to France, as a power from which assistance, if necessary, might be obtained, in the contest against England. The scarcity of arms and ammunition in the colonies, made it absolutely necessary to seek foreign aid on these accounts.

In 1776, Mr. Silas Deane was sent to France, as a political and commercial agent. His instructions were, to endeavour to obtain munitions of war, and to gain all the information in his power concerning the disposition of the French court towards the Americans, in respect to their contest with Great Britain.

On the declaration of independence, the court of Versailles privately assisted the Americans in the means of prosecuting the war, but refused to recognize the United States as a free and independent nation.

A committee was however, appointed by Congress to negociate foreign alliances, and Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee were deputed to France. They assembled in Paris, and had an immediate interview with the French minister, the Count De Vergennes. He privately encouraged their suit; but

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them by his example to deeds of valour, he was wounded in several places, and died the 19th of August following, in the forty eighth year of his age. The Congress of the United States of America, in acknowledgment of his zeal, of his services, and of his merit, hath erected this monument."—*Lee's Memoirs.*

being unwilling at that time to give umbrage to the court of St. James, and through fear also, that the Americans would not be able to achieve their independence, it was understood that their cause should be publicly discountenanced. In this state of doubt and delay, our commissioners received the news of the surrender of Burgoyne and his army.

At this juncture, they pressed the cabinet to accept their treaty, as it was probable that Great Britain would offer terms of peace, and it was of the last importance for Congress to know what might be expected from France. The result was, that the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and a treaty of alliance and commerce was entered into between the two nations.

A courier was then despatched to the court of Madrid, with information of the line of conduct pursued by France. and on its basis, a treaty was also concluded between Spain and America.

These treaties were received and ratified by Congress in May, 1778. On this occasion, Washington writes to Congress thus: "With infinite pleasure I beg leave to congratulate Congress on the very important and interesting advices brought by the frigate La Sensible. As soon as Congress may think it expedient, I shall be happy to have an opportunity of announcing to the army, with the usual ceremony, such parts of the intelligence as may be proper, and sanctioned by authority.*" Accordingly, on the 5th of

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* On that occasion, the following general order was issued by the Commander in Chief.

Head Quarters, Camp,
Valley Forge, May 5th, 1778.

It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, propitiously to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally, by raising us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and inde-

May, this joyful news was communicated to the army, and the occasion was celebrated in such a manner as

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pendence on a lasting foundation ; it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the Divine goodness, and celebrating the important event which we owe to His benign interposition.

The several brigades will be assembled for this purpose at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, when their Chaplains will communicate the intelligence contained in the Postscript to the Pennsylvania Gazette of the second instant, and offer up a thanksgiving, and deliver a discourse suitable to the occasion.

At half past ten o'clock, a cannon will be fired, which is to be a signal for the men to be under arms. The Brigade Inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of brigades that the battalions are formed. The Brigadiers and Commandants will then appoint the field officers to command the battalions ; after which, each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms.—At half past eleven, another cannon will be fired as a signal for the march ; on which the several brigades will begin their march by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed by the nearest way to the left of their ground, in the new position that will be pointed out by the Brigade Inspectors.—A third signal will be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon : when the thirteenth has fired, a running fire of the infantry will begin at Woodford's, and continue throughout the whole front line ; it will then be taken up on the left of the second line, and continue to the right—on a signal given, the whole army will huzza—*Long live the King of France !*

The artillery will then begin again, and fire thirteen rounds. This will be succeeded by a second general discharge of the musketry in a running fire—*Huzza ! long live the friendly European Powers !* Then the last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery will be given, followed by a general running fire—*Huzza for the American States !*

Agreeably to the above orders, His Excellency General to form a new era in the feelings and hopes of all who witnessed the ceremonies.*

In the month of March, Lord Howe sent Colonel Mawhood and Major Simcoe into New Jersey, on a foraging expedition, with about 1200 men. They landed at Salem, where a party of militia had been stationed, and a skirmish ensued, in which the Americans lost in killed, wounded and taken, fifty or sixty men.

Not long after this, an excursion was planned against General Lacy, who, with about six hundred men, was guarding the roads to Philadelphia. The party of militia being too small to make an effectual

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Washington, his lady and suite, Lord Stirling, the Countess of Stirling, with other general officers and ladies, attended at nine o'clock at the Jersey brigade, when the Postcript mentioned above, was read, and after prayer a suitable discourse delivered to Lord Strling's division, by the Rev. Mr. Hunter.

On the signal at half after eleven, the whole army repaired to their alarm posts ; on which General Washington, accompanied by the general officers, reviewed the whole army at their respective posts ; and after the firing of the cannon and musketry, and the huzzas were given, agreeably to the orders, the army returned to their respective brigade parades, and were dismissed.

All the officers of the army then assembled, and partook of a collation provided by the General, at which several patriotic toasts were given, accompanied with three cheers. His Excellency took leave of the officers at five o'clock, on which there was universal huzzaing—*Long live General Washington!* and clapping of hands till the General rode some distance. The non commissioned officers and privates followed the example of their officers as the General passed their brigades. Approbation indeed was conspicuous in every countenance, and universal joy reigned throughout the camp.—*Thacher's Journal.*

* Official letters.

resistance, were entirely dispersed, and Gen. Lacy made his escape with the loss of his baggage.

The enemy at Philadelphia frequently detached foraging parties into the country in various directions, who generally effected their purpose, and returned before their movements were known at Valley Forge. To prevent such excursions, and at the same time to be in readiness to annoy the rear of the British army, should it move from the city, an event which was expected, the Marquis de la Fayette was detached with about two thousand selected troops, and a few pieces of cannon, to take post near the enemy's lines.

As this corps formed the flower of the American army, the Commander in Chief enjoined on the Marquis the utmost attention to its safety, and recommended to him not to take post at one place for any considerable time, because this would give the enemy time to concert measures against him.

With this detachment, Gen. La Fayette crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th of May, and took post at Barren Hills, about ten miles from the army at Valley Forge.

Immediate notice of this movement was given to Sir William Howe,* who, having reconnoitered La Fayette's position, concerted a plan to surprise and cut him off.

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* Richard Howe, Earl, a gallant Admiral, was born in 1725, and entered the naval service at so early an age, that at 20, he was appointed to the command of a sloop of war, in which he beat off two large French frigates, after a gallant action, for which he was made a Post Captain. After a variety of active service, he obtained the command of the Dunkirk, of 60 guns, with which he captured a French 64, off Newfoundland. In 1757, he served under Admiral Hawke, and the year following, was appointed Commodore of a squadron, with which he destroyed a number of ships and magazines at St. Malo. In 1759, Prince Edward, afterwards duke of York, was put under his care, and the

For this purpose, General Grant, with five thousand select troops, on the night of the 19th, silently marched out of the city, and taking a circuitous route, by the way of White marsh, he gained the rear of the Marquis, and took post between him and Valley Forge, and only about a mile from his lines. This position he reached about sun-rise, and entirely undiscovered by the Americans. General Gray followed

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Commodore, on the 6th of August took Cherbourg, and destroyed the basin. This was followed by the unfortunate affair of St. Cas, where he displayed his courage and humanity in saving the retreating soldiers at the hazard of his own life. The same year, at the death of his brother, he became Lord Howe, and soon afterwards had a great share in the victory over Conflans. When Admiral Hawke presented him, on this occasion, to the King, his majesty said, "Your life, my Lord, has been one continued series of services to your country." In 1763, he was appointed to the admiralty board, where he remained till 1765, when he was made treasurer of the navy. In 1770, he was appointed commander in chief in the Mediterranean. In the American war, he commanded the fleet on that coast. In 1782, he was sent to the relief of Gibraltar, which service he performed in sight of the French and Spanish fleets, but who shunned an action, though far superior in numbers. The year following, he was made first Lord of the admiralty, which office he soon afterwards resigned, but at the end of the year he was re-appointed, and continued in that station till 1788, when he was created an English Earl. In 1793, he took the command of the channel fleet, and, June 1, 1794, he obtained a decisive victory over the French fleet. The same month he was visited on board his ship at Spithead by their majesties, when the king presented him with a magnificent sword, a gold chain and medal. He also received the thanks of both houses, the freedom of London, and the applause of the nation. In 1795 he became general of the marines, and in 1797 was honoured with the garter. His Lordship died in 1799, and was succeeded by his brother.—*Watkins' Biographical Dictionary.*

Grant, and in the course of the night, with another strong detachment, posted himself two or three miles in front of La Fayette's right flank. At the same time, the residue of Lord Howe's army encamped on Chesnut hill.

Thus was La Fayette completely surrounded, before being apprised that the enemy were in his vicinity. His perilous situation was discovered by himself and by the army at Valley Forge nearly at the same time. At the latter place, alarm guns were immediately fired, to warn him of his danger, and the whole army put under arms to act as the occasion might require. It was a moment of the greatest perplexity, but required the coolest judgment, and the most decisive action. In this dilemma, the young Marquis displayed both, and with a promptitude far above his years, decided on the only course which could have saved him from the grasp of his adversary. His troops were instantly put in motion towards Matson's ford, which was nearer the place of Gen. Grant's post than his own. Had Grant suspected this movement, he might easily have cut him off, and it was certainly an oversight in him that he did not, as this ford was the only place where a retreat could have been effected.

Having crossed the river, La Fayette possessed himself of the high grounds which the place afforded, and sent back a small party to bring over the field pieces, which were also saved.

Gen. Grant reached the ground occupied by the Marquis at Barren Hill, soon after it was abandoned, and came to Matson's ford just after his rear guard had crossed the river, but finding that the Americans had taken a strong position, and were ready to receive him, he marched back to Philadelphia, as did the whole British army.

Gen. Grant fell under the censure of his superior officers, for letting the Marquis slip away from him, after having obtained so obvious an advantage in respect to position. But Grant's error lay in his persisting in the opinion that the Marquis still continued at Barren hill, without taking care to ascertain the fact. But when he was obliged to change his opinion, it was too late to remedy his mistake; the Marquis was at too great a distance to be overtaken.

In the statement of this affair made by General La Fayette, he represents himself to have advanced the head of a column towards Grant, as if to attack him, while the rear filed off rapidly towards Matson's ford. This movement gained ground, even for the front, which, while it advanced towards the enemy, also approached the river, and at the same time induced Gen. Grant to halt in order to prepare for battle.

While this manœuvre was performing under Grant, a small party was thrown into a church yard, which was surrounded by a wall, on the road towards Gen. Gray, which also gave the appearance of an intention to attack in that quarter. By these dispositions, happily conceived and executed with regularity, the Marquis extricated himself and his party from the destruction which had appeared almost inevitable. In his letter to Congress, General Washington termed this a "timely and handsome retreat;" and certainly the compliment was merited.*

Here the inquiry would naturally suggest itself, how an officer capable of conducting a retreat with such admirable skill, should be so wanting in vigilance, as to permit himself to be surrounded by the enemy without suspecting his danger. Gen. La Fayette, in his explanation stated, that having posted a party of Pennsylvania militia on his left flank, he relied on them to guard the roads about White Marsh, but without his order or knowledge, they had retired into his rear, thus leaving the road by which the enemy came, not only entirely unguarded, but without any one to inform him of their approach. In May of this year, Sir William Howe resigned the command of the army, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton.*

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* Marshall.

On the morning of the 18th of June, Philadelphia was evacuated by the British army, and in the course of a few hours, their whole force was encamped at Gloucester Point, on the Jersey shore. On the next day, the line of march was formed, and proceeded slowly directly up the Delaware. Its destination was a subject of much speculation and considerable anxiety to the American officers. A council of war was convened by the commander in chief, to decide the all important question, whether they would hazard a general engagement with the enemy. General Clinton, according to the best estimate that could be made, was about ten thousand strong. The American army amounted to ten thousand six hundred and eighty-four effective rank and file. The majority of the council were against a general action. Generals Washington and La Fayette were, however, inclined to engage the enemy, and the former, finding himself supported by the private opinions of several general officers, in whom he had great confidence, finally concluded to hazard a battle on his own responsibility. As preparatory to this event, it was necessary to detach an able officer to take the command of about four thousand continental troops, which had been posted in front of the main army. This important command devolved, in point of rank, on Major General Lee, but being strongly opposed to hazarding an action, he did not assert his claim, but assented to the private wishes of Washington, that La Fayette, whose views agreed with his own, should take that important command. Gen. Lee, however, repenting his refusal, Washington detached him, with two brigades, to support the Marquis in case of necessity ; but it was expressly stipulated, that if the Marquis had already formed any particular plan of attack, or any enterprise, that Lee should not interfere with him, though the latter was the superior officer.

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* Henry Clinton, an English general, and Knight of the Bath, was the grandson of Francis, Earl of Lincoln, and became a captain in the guards in 1758. In 1778, he was appointed General in North America, and returned to England in 1782. Soon after, he published a narrative of his conduct, which was replied to by Earl Cornwallis, and vindicated by Sir Henry. In 1784 he published a farther defence of himself. In 1795, he was made Governour of Gibraltar, and died soon after.—*Watkins' Biog. Dic.*

Sir Henry Clinton had taken a strong position at Monmouth Court House, and it was deemed unsafe to commence the attack until he should begin to move.

About five o'clock, on the morning of the 28th of July, Gen. Dickinson* gave intelligence at head quarters that the front of the British army was in motion. The Americans immediately beat to arms, and Gen. Lee was directed to commence the engagement by an attack on the rear of the enemy. But having nearly reached his point of destination, and come within sight of the enemy, Lee permitted his division to retreat with precipitation. Washington, who now approached the scene of action, met Lee on the retreat, and addressed him with warmth, implying his disapprobation of such conduct, but at the same time ordered him to take proper measures to rally his troops, and check the enemy, who were now rapidly advancing in his rear. This Lee performed promptly, and a sharp conflict ensued, in which he was forced to retreat, after having checked the progress of the enemy.

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* Philemon Dickinson, a brave officer in the revolutionary war, died at his seat near Trenton, New Jersey, February 4, 1809, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He took an early and an active part in the struggle with Great Britain, and hazarded his ample fortune and his life in establishing our independence. In the memorable battle of Monmouth, at the head of the Jersey militia, he exhibited the spirit and gallantry of a soldier of liberty. After the establishment of the present national government, he was a member of Congress. In the various stations, civil and military, with which he was honoured, General Dickinson discharged them with zeal, uprightness, and ability. The last twelve or fifteen years of his life were spent in retirement from public concerns.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

Meantime, Generals Greene and Wayne were warmly engaged in another quarter, and the action became general. On both sides, great military ardor and obstinacy of resistance was displayed. The enemy, however, were obliged to give way, and withdrew behind the ravine, at the place where the action first commenced. Here the British line was flanked both on the right and left, by thick woods and morasses, while the approach to the front was through a narrow pass. To continue the engagement under such circumstances would be obviously giving the enemy an advantage. It was therefore thought advisable to discontinue the action until next morning, when a fresh attack could be made under more favourable circumstances.

Every preparation was accordingly made for this purpose. The brigades detached as flanking parties lay at their posts and on their arms during the night, and the Commander in Chief lay down in his cloak, in the midst of his soldiers.

But Sir Henry Clinton, though he claimed the advantage in the battle already fought, had good reasons for declining the risk of another at the same place. About midnight, therefore, his army was put in motion, and silently marched off.

The conduct of the officers generally, and the bravery of the troops under their command, were highly gratifying to Washington during the action. General

Wayne,* in particular, was spoken of as meriting the highest commendation.

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* Anthony Wayne, Major General in the army of the United States, was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in 1745. In 1773, he was appointed a representative to the General Assembly, where, in conjunction with John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Thomson, and other gentlemen, he took an active part in opposition to the claims of Great Britain. In 1775, he quitted the councils of his country for the field. He entered the army as a Colonel, and at the close of the year accompanied General Thomson to Canada. When this officer was defeated in his enterprise against the Three Rivers in June, 1776, and taken prisoner, he himself received a flesh wound in the leg. His exertions were useful in the retreat. In the same year he served at Ticonderoga under General Gates, by whom he was esteemed both for his courage and military talents, and for his knowledge as an engineer. At the close of the campaign he was made a Brigadier General. In the campaign of 1777, in the middle states, he took a very active part. In the battle of Brandywine, he distinguished himself, though he was in a few days afterwards surprised and defeated by Major General Grey. He fought also in the battle of Germantown, as well as in the battle of Monmouth, in June, 1778. In his most daring and successful attack upon Stony Point, in July 1779, while he was rushing forward with his men under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot, determined to carry the works at the point of the bayonet, he was struck by a musket ball upon his head. He was for a moment stunned; but as soon as he was able to rise so as to rest on one knee, believing that his wound was mortal, he cried to one of his aids, " carry me forward, and let me die in the fort." When he entered it, he gave orders to stop the effusion of blood. In 1781 he was ordered to march with the Pennsylvania line from the northward, and form a junction with La Fayette, in Virginia. On the sixth of July, after receiving information, that the main body of the enemy, under Cornwallis had crossed James' river, he pressed forward at the head of eight hundred men to attack the rear

In the battle of Monmouth, the Americans lost eight officers and sixty-one privates killed, and about one hundred and sixty wounded.

The number of the enemy killed could not be exactly ascertained. Four officers, and two hundred and forty-five privates were buried on the field of battle, by persons appointed for that purpose by Washington, and afterwards others were found, so as to increase the number to three hundred. A number died on both sides, in consequence of drinking cold water after being exhausted by the excessive heat of the day.

The conduct of Gen. Lee, during this action, was

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guard. But to his utter astonishment, when he reached the place, he found the whole British army, consisting of four thousand men, drawn up, ready to receive him. At this moment, he conceived of but one way to escape. He rushed towards the enemy, till he came within twenty-five yards, when he commenced a gallant attack, which he supported for a few minutes, and then retreated with the utmost expedition. The British General was confounded by this movement, and apprehensive of an ambuscade from La Fayette, would not allow of a pursuit. After the capture of Cornwallis, he was sent to conduct the war in Georgia, where with equal success, he contended with British soldiers, Indian savages, and American traitors. As a reward for his services, the Legislature of Georgia presented him with a valuable farm. At the conclusion of the war, he retired to private life. In 1787, he was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, which ratified the constitution of the United States. In 1792 he succeeded St. Clair in the command of the army to be employed against the Indians. In the battle of the Miamis, August 20, 1794, he gained a complete victory over the enemy; and afterwards desolated their country. On the third of August, 1795, he concluded a treaty with the hostile Indians northwest of the Ohio. While in the service of his country he died in a hut at Presque Isle, aged about fifty-one years, and was buried on the shore of Lake Erie.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

highly reprobated, but Washington, hoping for an amicable settlement, took no steps against him, until Lee wrote him an impertinent and haughty letter, and claimed trial by a court martial. He was then arrested and tried according to his wishes. The court found him guilty of all the charges and specifications preferred against him, and sentenced him to be suspended from all command for one year. This sentence was univerally approved in the army, and was sanctioned by Congress.

In July, 1778, the Count D'Estaing arrived from France, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates, to co-operate with the Americans against the British.

A body of about six thousand British troops having possession of the town of Newport in Rhode Island, an expedition against that place was planned by Washington and the Count soon after his arrival.

Gen. Sullivan, who had commanded in Rhode Island, the preceding winter, was directed to prepare for the expedition by calling in the militia, and by having magazines, boats and pilots in readiness for the descent. At the same time, the Marquis de la Fayette was detached with two brigades to join Sullivan at Providence, and to put himself under the command of that officer. Gen. Greene was also ordered to join Sullivan, and take his directions. On the 25th of July Count D'Estaing, with his whole fleet appeared off Newport, and cast anchor about five miles from that place.

Gen. Sullivan went on board the Admiral soon after his arrival, to concert the most proper measures to be pursued by the allied forces. The two commanders, after several propositions on both sides, determined that their whole force should be directed against the town of Newport as soon as possible, and that, for this purpose, the troops from the fleet were to be landed on the west side of the Island, while the Americans were to land at the north end, and take possession of the works erected by the enemy.

To be in readiness, Gen. Greene marched his division to Tiverton, where he was soon joined by Sullivan and La Fayette.

Every thing being now in readiness, the fleet entered the channel on the 8th of August, and passed the British batteries without sustaining injury.

On account of the tardiness of the militia, the landing was proposed by Gen. Sullivan to be deferred till the next day. Meantime, during the night, the enemy forsook their works at the north end of the Island, and withdrew into the lines at Newport. So soon as Gen. Sullivan discovered this movement in the morning, he determined, without consulting Admiral D'Estaing, to take immediate possession of the post which the enemy had abandoned.

On the 9th, the whole of Sullivan's army, in conformity to this resolution, crossed the east passage, and landed on the north end of Rhode Island.

This movement was highly resented by the French Admiral, because he was not consulted, and because the American troops were so uncivil as to land before his own. The Count, too, was a Lieutenant General, while Sullivan was only a Major General, so that it was a daring infraction on the established rules of politeness, for him first to set foot on the enemy's ground. These trifling circumstances seemed to weigh much with the Count.

It had been stipulated, that he should command the French troops, and one wing of the American army, in person; but this he now refused to do, and requested that La Fayette should take the command in his place.

But a circumstance now happened, which, in the end, destroyed the fair prospects of a signal victory over the enemy.

A British fleet arrived at the mouth of the bay, and, having communicated with General Pigot, the commander of the British land forces, came to anchor off Point Judith. Count D'Estaing immediately prepared his squadron to attack Lord Howe, who commanded this fleet. But Howe weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. He was followed by D'Estaing, and both fleets were soon out of sight.

Gen. Sullivan was now left without assistance; and as the enemy now had the command of the sea, reinforcements might be thrown into Newport without interruption, and at the same time his retreat entirely cut off. His force had increased by the arrival of militia to about ten thousand men, and on the fifteenth, having received no intelligence from the Count, Gen. Sullivan thought best to act without waiting his return, and accordingly laid siege to the town.

Count D'Estaing arrived, however, before any thing decisive was done by Sullivan, and without having himself done the least injury to the British fleet. A storm separated the two squadrons, at a time when an engagement was about to commence.

It was with great joy that Sullivan and his army saw the approach of the French fleet, as the harbinger of a brilliant victory over the enemy. But what was his disappointment and surprise on receiving a letter from the Count, to find, that instead of rendering his assistance at Newport, he designed to sail immediately for Boston harbour. In vain did Sullivan represent to him that his co-operation for only two days would secure a victory over the whole British army in Rhode Island. In vain did Gen. Greene and La Fayette wait on him to urge the necessity of his assistance at so favourable a juncture. His reply was, that his Majesty, the king of France had instructed him, that in case his fleet should meet with any disaster, or if a superior British fleet should appear on the coast, to sail immediately to Boston, and that his present situation included both these conditions. His fleet had suffered much from the late storm, and Admiral Byron had arrived on the coast with a considerable squadron.

On the return of Greene and La Fayette, with the mortifying intelligence, that the Count was fixed in his determination to proceed to Boston, the chagrin and vexation of Sullivan was extreme. He had considered the British army as certainly within his grasp, and nothing now prevented his triumph, but what he considered the obstinacy and self-will of the Count. He determined, however, to make one more effort, and after the fleet had sailed, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Admiral, and pressed him at any rate, to leave his troops to assist against the enemy. This letter was sent by Col. Laurens,* in a fast sailing privateer.

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* John Laurens, a brave officer in the American war, was the son of Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and was sent to England for his education. He joined the army in the beginning of 1777, from which time he was foremost in danger. He was present and distinguished himself in every action of the army under General Washington, and was among the first who entered the British lines at York Town. Early in 1781, while he held the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, he was selected as the most suitable person to be deputed on a special mission to France, to solicit a loan of money, and to procure military stores. He arrived in March and returned in August, having been so successful in the execution of his commission, that Congress passed a vote of thanks for his services. Such was his despatch, that in three days after he repaired to Philadelphia, he finished his business with Congress, and immediately afterward rejoined the American army. On the 27th of August, 1782, in opposing a foraging party of the British, near Combahee river, in South Carolina, he was mortally wounded, and he died at the age of twenty-six years. His father, just released from imprisonment, and happy in a son of such distinction and virtues, now witnessed the desolation of all his hopes. Col. Laurens, uniting the talents of a great officer with the know-

The Admiral was exceedingly displeased with the remonstrance, and continued his voyage to Boston.

Being abandoned by the fleet, Gen. Sullivan called a council of war, to determine on the propriety of continuing the siege. But the refusal of Count D'Estaing to assist in the enterprise, had so disheartened the militia, that great numbers deserted; so that the army was now not more than five thousand strong. The siege was therefore raised, and the army took post at the north end of the Island, where they threw up works for defence.

This reluctance to retire from the Island, arose from the hope which Gen. Sullivan and his officers still maintained, that the Count might return to their assistance. To prevail on him to do so, Gen. Hancock, and the Marquis de la Fayette proceeded to Boston, the former to expedite the repairs of the fleet, and the latter to use his influence with the Count.

Meantime, the enemy moved out of Newport, and advanced to attack the Americans at their works. Four regiments of the regular army were ordered to meet them, but this force not being strong enough to check their advance, Gen. Greene moved forward with two regiments and a brigade of militia, to their support.

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ledge of the scholar, and the engaging manners of the gentleman, was the glory of the army and the idol of his country. Washington, who selected him as his aid, and reposed in him the highest confidence, declared that he could discover no fault in him unless it was intrepidity bordering upon rashness. His abilities were exhibited in the legislature and in the cabinet, as well as in the field. He was zealous for the rights of humanity, and, living in a country of slaves, contended that personal liberty was the birth right of every human being, however diversified by country, colour, or powers of mind. His insinuating address won the hearts of all his acquaintance, while his sincerity and virtue secured their lasting esteem.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

The action now became warm and bloody; the Americans supporting the attack with great firmness, while their veteran enemies displayed that coolness which characterizes well disciplined troops. The enemy, however, finally gave way, and retreated to their works.

The loss to the Americans in this action, was two hundred and eleven, in killed, wounded and taken.

Gen. Pigot stated his loss at two hundred and sixty.

On the 30th, Gen. Sullivan received information from the commander in chief, that the enemy would probably be reinforced in a few days, and that a retreat might become necessary. This Gen. Sullivan effected the day before the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, with several ships of war, and a large reinforcement of troops. Had Sullivan remained on the Island another day, his retreat would inevitably have been cut off from the continent.

The Marquis de la Fayette, having repaired to Boston, for the purpose above mentioned, was not present during the engagement, but by great personal exertions, he arrived just in time to take charge of the rear guard at the retreat. In the performance of this service, he distinguished himself for the vigilance and military skill which he displayed in conducting this portion of the army to the continent. In a letter from Congress, he is particularly mentioned, and his conduct is approbated, "as well for his great sacrifices of personal feeling to the public good, in consenting for the interests of the United States, to leave the army when a battle was to be expected, as for the good conduct with which he brought off the pickets and out sentries."

The failure of this expedition was a matter of bitter mortification and disappointment to Gen. Sullivan and the Marquis, and indeed to all the officers concerned in it. In his public letters, Sullivan spoke with great confidence of his ultimate success, and Congress and the public were waiting for the joyful news, that the whole British army in Rhode Island had fallen into the hands of the Americans.

The conduct of Count D'Estaing in abandoning his allies at such a critical period, was highly disapproved, and Gen. Sullivan, in one of his orders to the army, could not avoid an intimation of his feelings on the occasion. The Count was not at all satisfied at seeing his conduct called in question, and addressed a letter to Congress, in which he complained that he had not received adequate supplies of water and provisions from the Americans, and insisted that his voyage to Boston was absolutely necessary, on account of the damages done to his fleet in the late storm.

These reasons were not sufficient to satisfy either Congress or the public. In Congress, a proposition was moved, to inquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition against Rhode Island. But policy indicated the impropriety of carrying such a proposition into effect.

In Boston, the public indignation was so great, that there were fears that the means of repairing the French fleet could not be obtained.

The ferment, indeed, ran so high, that it was greatly to be feared that the Count, if he was informed in what light the public viewed him, would quit the country, and that America would be deprived of any present benefit from her alliance with France. Congress therefore, passed several resolutions, interdicting the publication of any thing which could offend the French officers ; and La Fayette used all his influence to soften the public feeling, and prevent the mischief which he apprehended might arise from such a state of things. Washington was also exceedingly anxious, on the same account. In a letter to Gen. Sullivan, he says, " the disagreement between the army under your command and the fleet has given me singular uneasiness. The continent at large is concerned in our cordiality, and it should be kept up by all possible means consistent with our honour and policy. In our conduct towards the French, we should remember that they are a people old in war, very strict in military etiquette, and apt to take fire when others scarcely seem warmed. It is of the utmost consequence, that the soldiers and people should know nothing of this misunderstanding, or, if it has reached them, that means may be used to stop its progress, and prevent its effects."

Gen. La Fayette, although he exerted himself to counteract the ill effects which this disagreement between the French and American officers was likely to produce towards the American cause, was himself exceedingly hurt at the expressions of resentment which fell from some of the American officers. He felt a most unlimited attachment to Washington, and a most ardent desire to see the cause of liberty triumph over the arms of its adversaries. But France was his country, and Frenchmen his brothers ; his noble and patriotic mind could not but experience the anguish of wounded sensibility, when either were disapprobated, and particularly by Americans. But notwithstanding these causes of disaffection,—and a letter to Washington shows that he felt most keenly the remarks of some of the American officers, still he never for a moment permitted such circumstances to alienate his affections from the cause he had espoused, or to lessen his vigilance in promoting its accomplishment. So sensible was Washington of the integrity and influence of La Fayette, that although he knew with how much feeling he spoke of the illiberal remarks the Americans had made on the conduct of Count D'E-taing and the French, still La Fayette was the man on whose influence Washington chiefly depended, to conciliate this unhappy difference.

Explanations were finally entered into on this subject, between Washington and the Count, and by a conciliatory course of proceedings on both sides, a breach, which at one time threatened very serious consequences, was fully healed.

In September, of this year, a most horrid, and to the enemy, disgraceful transaction took place near New York.

Col. Baylor, with his regiment of horse, was posted near the Hackensack, his guard being placed at a bridge, which crossed that river near his post. The enemy having obtained intelligence of his position, Gen. Gray was detached against him. Some of the country people who perfectly understood Baylor's situation, and knew the guard, were base enough to act as guides for the enemy. They eluded the patrols, and having got into the rear of the serjeant's guard at the bridge, killed or took every individual of them, without alarming Baylor. Gray's party then proceeded to a barn, where most of the regiment lay asleep, and rushing in upon them, for a time bayonetted every man they fell in with, not in the least regarding their cries for quarter. The number of privates in the barn was one hundred and four, of which sixty-seven were killed, wounded or taken. The number killed was twenty-seven. One of Gen. Gray's Captains, notwithstanding he was ordered to give no quarter, permitted the fourth troop to surrender with their lives.

Col. Baylor was dangerously wounded with a bayonet, and Maj. Clough was mortally wounded by the same instrument.

The savage cruelty of the enemy, in thus murdering these poor fellows in their sleep, or when they could make no defence, and when they begged for quarter, excited horror and indignation throughout the country.

At the request of Congress, depositions to prove the facts were taken, under the direction of Governour Livingston, of New Jersey, and the Rev. Dr. Griffith, of Virginia. These depostions were published to the world.

The fall of this year is remembered with horror, on account of the many petty devastations and murders the British soldiery committed. Not only public stores, but the property of individuals, their houses, stores and provisions, were burned, or otherwise wantonly destroyed.

The expedition against Count Pulaski* was made in October of this year. This Nobleman, by permission of Congress, had raised an independent corps, chiefly composed of foreigners, which he commanded in person. The Count was ordered to proceed from Trenton to Little Egg Harbour, and when within ten miles of his place of destination, a deserter carried to the enemy, who were then burning the stores at the latter place, an account of his position and strength. A plan was immediately formed to surprise him, which was completely carried into effect, so far as respected his infantry, who, according to custom, were allowed no quarter, but were put to the bayonet without mercy. The Count and most of his cavalry, escaped.

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* Count Pulaski, Brigadier General in the army of the United States, was a Polander of high birth, who with a few men, in 1771, carried off King Stanislaus from the middle of his capital, though surrounded by a numerous body of guards and a Russian army. The King soon escaped and declared Pulaski an outlaw. After his arrival in this country, he offered his services to Congress, and was honoured with the rank of Brigadier General. He discovered the greatest intrepidity in an engagement with a party of the British near Charleston, in May, 1779. In the assault upon Savannah, October 9th, by Gen. Lincoln and Count D'Estaing, Pulaski was wounded, at the head of two hundred horsemen, as he was galloping into the town, with the intention of charging in the rear. He died on the 11th, and Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory.—*Allen's Biog. Dictionary.*

About this time, Gen. La Fayette received letters from France, informing him that the treaty of alliance between that country and the United States had produced much sensation in Europe, and that in all probability, it would be the occasion of a war between France and England. His King and country had the first claim on his services, and he was desirous of being where he could tender them the moment they were required. Nor was this all that he could probably accomplish by going to France. He intended to serve America at the same time.

After the absolute refusal of Count D'Estaing to assist at the expedition against Rhode Island, it was seen by the American officers that unless France should send ships and troops in greater numbers, and place them under the direction of the Commander in Chief, the late alliance with France would be of little or no use to the United States, in prosecuting the war. The secret orders of the King of France to his Admiral in America, if obeyed, would in many instances entirely counteract the object for which he was sent out. If his orders were discretionary, he might act or not, as he thought fit, and consequently, all disagreeable or hazardous services might be declined.

La Fayette knew that Washington's opinion on this subject coincided with his own; and it was his determination, if the situation of his country permitted, to use all his influence with the French court, to obtain an order, vesting in Washington and Congress the full and entire direction of all their forces destined to aid the Americans in their struggle with the British.

From motives of friendship, and for some political reasons, Washington was desirous of retaining La Fayette, as an officer in the American service, notwithstanding his determination to return to France. He therefore requested that La Fayette would not resign his commission, and at the same time directed a letter to Congress, to signify that it would give him pleasure if that body would grant the Marquis unlimited leave of absence, to return when most convenient to himself.* Agreeably to this request, Congress passed a resolution, granting La Fayette a furlough to go to France, and return again whenever it best suited his convenience.

La Fayette took leave of Washington at his quarters at Fishkill, in October, 1778, and repaired to Philadelphia, the seat of Congress, there to make official arrangements for his departure. Congress expressed, by their acts, the most grateful acknowledgments for his services, and the lively interest they took in his welfare and happiness. He sailed for France towards the close of the year, still feeling the strongest attachment to America and her cause; and leaving behind him a name and character which never was mentioned without sensations of gratitude and admiration, by any true American.

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* The following is Washington's letter to the President of Congress on that occasion.

Head Quarters, Oct. 6, 1778.

SIR,

This will be delivered to you by Major General the Marquis de la Fayette. The generous motives which first induced him to cross the Atlantic, and enter the army of the United States, are well known in Congress. Reasons equally laudable now engage his return to France, which, in her present circumstances, claims his services. His eagerness to offer his duty to his prince and country, however great, could not influence him to quit the continent in any stage of an unfinished campaign. He resolved to remain at least, till the close of the present, and embraces this moment of suspense to communicate his wishes to Congress, with a view of having the necessary arrangements made in time, and of being still within reach, should any occasion offer of distinguishing himself in the field. The Marquis, at the same time, from a desire of preserving a relation with us, and a hope of having it yet in his power to be useful as an American officer, solicits only a furlough, sufficient for the purpose above mentioned. A reluctance to part with an officer, who unites to all the military fire of youth, an uncommon maturity of judgment, would lead me to prefer his being absent on this footing, if it depended on me. I shall always be happy to give such a testimony of his services as his bravery and conduct, on all occasions, entitle him to; and I have no doubt that Congress will add suitable expressions of their opinion of his merit, and of their regret on account of his departure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. W.

The Marquis arrived in Paris on the 11th of February, where he was received by the King and ministry with great cordiality and distinction.

His extraordinary character, and the high standing of his family, gave him great influence at court, though a youth of only twenty-two. This influence he used for the benefit of his adopted country. His intimacy with the Count de Vergennes,* a minister in whom the king placed the greatest confidence, had a most auspicious bearing on the interests of the United States. He explained to him the real condition of the Americans, and their wants. He did not withhold his opinion, that if France intended to give effectual aid to the United States, she must send out more considerable forces by sea and land, and that the munitions of war and supplies must be furnished with a more liberal hand. Above all, he insisted on the absolute necessity of placing the French forces under the entire direction of Congreſs and the Commander in Chief. Experience had shown, that forces designed to co-operate against the enemy, but with an independent command, had been of little or no value to the Americans.

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* Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, a French minister of state, was born of a noble family in Burgundy. In 1755, he was sent ambassador to Constantinople, and afterwards to Sweden; but when Louis XVI. came to the throne, he was recalled, and made minister of foreign affairs. He displayed the qualities of a profound statesman, particularly in the peace of 1783. He died in 1787.—*Watkins' Biog. Dictionary.*

Count de Vergennes finally became convinced of the truth of La Fayette's opinions, and being seconded in his representations to the king, by the late minister of France to the United States, and the Count de la Luzerne, his successor, then at Philadelphia, his Majesty adopted the same opinion, and signified his pleasure, that more considerable forces should be sent to America. Orders were accordingly issued for the equipment of a new squadron, to carry out a more numerous body of troops, to be placed under the direction of the American authorities.

When the determination of La Fayette to revisit France was known to Congress, that body, as a token of their gratitude for his services, and an acknowledgment of his bravery, voted to present him with a sword, superbly ornamented, with appropriate devices.

Dr. Franklin, the American Minister at Paris, was directed to superintend the making of this sword, and to present it to him in the name of Congress.

In October, 1779, he writes concerning it, to the President of Congress, as follows:

"The sword, ordered by Congress for the Marquis de la Fayette, being at length finished, I sent it down to him at Havre, where he was with the troops intended for the invasion. I wrote him a letter with it, and received an answer; copies of both which I inclose, together with a description of the sword, and drawings of the work upon it, which was executed by the best artists in Paris, and cost altogether two hundred guineas. The present has given him great pleasure, and some of the circumstances have been agreeable to the nation."

La Fayette being at Havre, Dr. Franklin sent his son with the sword, who had the honour of presenting it to him.

With the sword, Dr. Franklin sent a letter, in which he expresses, in the strongest terms the high sense of gratitude and obligation which the Americans felt towards him. To this, La Fayette returned an answer, expressing the highest satisfaction at this mark of honour and respect from America.* La Fayette

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* Letter from Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to the Marquis de la Fayette, with the sword presented by Congress.

Passy, August 24, 1779.

SIR,

The Congress, sensible of your merit towards the United States, but unable adequately to reward it, determined to present you with a sword, as a small mark of their grateful acknowledgment. They directed it to be ornamented with suitable devices. Some of the principal actions of the war, in which you distinguished yourself by your bravery and conduct, are therefore represented upon it. These, with a few emblematic figures, all admirably well executed, make its principal value. By the help of the exquisite artists France affords, I find it easy to express every thing but the sense we have of your worth, and our obligations to you. For this, figures, and even words, are found insufficient. I therefore only add, that with the most perfect esteem, I have the honour to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

(*The Marquis's Reply.*)

Havre, August 29, 1779.

SIR,

Whatever expectations might have been raised from the sense of past favours, the goodness of the United States for me has ever been such, that on every occasion it far surpasses any idea I could have conceived. A new proof of that flattering truth I find in the noble present, which Congress have been pleased to honour me with, and which is offered in such a manner by your Excellency, as will exceed any thing, but the feelings of my unbounded gratitude. Some of remained in France about eighteen months, and having done every service for the United States which could be effected by his presence at court, and finding that there was no probability of active employment in defence of his own country, he obtained permission to return to America, and landed at Boston, in April, 1780.

His return was the occasion of great joy, not only to Washington and Congress, but to the whole army. Washington's letter to Congress, and the resolve of that body on the occasion, together with La Fayette's reply, will serve to show the mutual satisfaction which was expressed on his arrival.[*]

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the devices I cannot help finding too honorable a reward for those slight services, which, in concert with my fellow soldiers, and under the godlike American hero's orders, I had the good luck to render. The sight of these actions, where I was a witness of American bravery and patriotic spirit, I will ever enjoy with that pleasure which becomes a heart glowing with love for the nation, and the most ardent zeal for their glory and happiness.

Assurances of gratitude, which I beg leave to present to your Excellency, are much inadequate to my feelings, and nothing but those sentiments may properly acknowledge your kindness towards me. The polite manner in which Mr. Franklin was pleased to deliver that inestimable sword, lays me under great obligations to him, and demands my particular thanks.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

La Fayette.

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[*] Washington's letter to Congress on the return of La Fayette,

Head Quarters, Morristown,
May 13, 1780.

The Marquis La Fayette does me the honour to take charge of this note. I am persuaded Congress will participate in the joy I feel at the return of a gentleman who has so signally distinguished himself in the service of this country; who has given so many decided proofs of his attachment to its interests, and who ought to be dear to it by every motive. The warm friendship I have for him conspires with considerations of public utility, to afford me a double satisfaction in his return. During the time he has been in France, he has uniformly manifested the same zeal in our affairs, which animated his conduct while he was among us; and has been upon all occasions, an essential friend to America. He merits, and I doubt not Congress will give him, every mark of consideration and regard in their power.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

To his Excellency, the President of Congress.

RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS.

In Congress, May 16, 1780;—"Resolved, that Congress consider the return of the Marquis La Fayette to America, to resume his command in the army, as a fresh proof of the distinguished zeal and deserving attachment, which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause; and that they receive with pleasure, a tender of further services of so gallant and meritorious an officer."

LA FAYETTE'S REPLY.

Philadelphia, May 16, 1780.

SIR,

After so many favours which, on every occasion, and particularly at my obtaining leave of absence, Congress were pleased most graciously to bestow on me, I dare presume myself entitled to impart to them the private feelings, which I now so happily experience.

In an early period of our noble contest, I gloried in the name of an American soldier; and heartily enjoyed the honour of serving the United States. My satisfaction is, at this long wished for moment, entirely complete, when, putting an end to my furlough, I shall have been able again to join my colours, under which I hope for an opportunity of indulging the ardent zeal, the unbounded gratitude, the warm, and I might say, patriotic love, by which I am forever bound to

America. I beg you, Sir, to present Congress with a new assurance of my profound respect, and my gratitude and affectionate sentiments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LA FAYETTE.

To His Excellency, the President of Congress.

CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGNS IN WHICH GENERAL LA FAYETTE WAS PARTICULARLY DISTINGUISHED, FROM 1780 TO THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

THE campaign of 1779, although on many occasions it furnished evidence of great military skill and bravery, on the part of the Americans, did not, on the whole, equal the expectations of Congress.

The arrival of Count D'Estaing, with his squadron and troops, was a circumstance on which the brilliant success of the campaign had been in a great measure, predicated. But we have already seen that great disappointment and mortification were occasioned by his want of co-operation with the American army.

In September, the Count arrived with his fleet from the West Indies, on the southern coast of the United States, and it was agreed on the 11th of that month, between him and General Lincoln, that their combined forces should lay siege to Savannah, which was then in the hands of the enemy. The siege was carried on with great vigour for near thirty days, when the Count declared that he could devote no more time to this object, and that it only remained to raise the siege, or to attempt the enemy's works by storm. The latter was concluded on, and while a most brave and bloody attempt was made by the allied army to force the works of the enemy, a still more determined and obstinate resistance was made to keep them. The allies were finally repulsed with great loss, and were obliged to retreat.

The loss of the French in killed and wounded in this unsuccessful attack, was about seven hundred. Among the killed was the Count Pulaski, and among the wounded D'Estaing himself. The Count immediately re-embarked his troops, and soon after left the American coast, to which he never again returned.

The departure of the French fleet produced a sudden and gloomy change in the prospects of the southern states. By the assistance of Count D'Estaing, the most sanguine expectations had been entertained, of totally destroying the British power in that quarter, but his departure occasioned the most serious apprehension, that Charleston, as well as Savannah, would fall into the hands of the enemy. The ill success of the American arms at the south, had been exceedingly discouraging. Gen. Tarleton had surprised and defeated an American corps at Monk's corner. The garrison at Fort Moultrie had surrendered prisoners of war. Gen. Gates was defeated by Lord Cornwallis, near Camden. Gen. Sumpter, after some success, had also been defeated. These disasters to the American arms, though in some instances, they had obtained brilliant victories, together with the Count's departure, had so disheartened the Americans, that in some of the states, the sanguine expectations of a successful termination of the war, had given way to a state of nearly hopeless inaction ; and the vigour which had marked the doings of some of the state Legislatures, was seen to languish in proportion as hope and expectation failed.

In this depressed and torpid condition of the public mind, La Fayette arrived, with the joyful intelligence that his Majesty, the King of France, had been pleased to order a large naval and land armament to the United States, to act in concert with the Americans against the British power. This news gave a new and vigorous impulse, not only to the state Legislatures, but also to Congress. Resolutions of the most determined complexion were immediately issued by each of these departments. A requisition was made by Congress on the states from New Hampshire to Virginia inclusive, for ten millions of dollars, and specie bills were directed to be drawn on Messrs. Franklin and Jay at Paris, for fifty thousand dollars.

At the same time, a circular letter was sent by Congress to each of the state Legislatures, calculated to stimulate them to use great exertions to raise their quotas of the sum required, and to make every preparation for the approaching crisis.

In the month of July, 1780, intelligence was received, that the French fleet had arrived on the American coast, and had been seen off the capes of Virginia.

On the 10th, Gen. Heath, who had been directed to make preparations for their reception in Rhode Island, announced that the fleet had appeared in sight, and was standing into the harbour.

Soon after their arrival, Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau, and the Chevalier Ternay, the officers commanding the land and naval forces of France at Newport, transmitted to General Washington an account of their arrival, and of their strength and orders.

A copy of the order from the French government to Rochambeau, was inclosed to Washington. By this order, the Count and his whole armament was placed entirely under the direction of the Commander in Chief. This was the very state of things which had been so much desired, and which La Fayette had exerted himself so strenuously to accomplish while in Paris.*

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* The following letter to Mr. Samuel Adams, dated Morristown, May 30, 1780, will show how deep an interest he took in the affairs of America.

Dear Sir,

Had I known that I would have the pleasure of meeting you at Boston, and holding confidential conversations with you on public and private matters, I should have anticipated the uneasiness I was put under by the obligation of secrecy, or previously obtained the leave of breaking that

The joy at the news of Rochambeau's arrival, with the additional intelligence, that the French troops

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so strict law in your favour. Now, my dear sir, that Congress have set my tongue at liberty, at least for such men as Mr. Samuel Adams, I will, in referring you to a public letter from the committee of Congress indulge my private feelings in imparting to you some confidential ideas of mine on our present situation.

As momentary visits did not entirely fulfil the purpose of freeing America, France thought they would render themselves more useful, if a naval and land force were sent for co-operating with our troops, and by a longer stay on the coast of the continent, would give to the states a fair opportunity of employing all their resources. The expectations are very sanguine at Versailles, and ought to be more so, when that letter shall be received, by which you know, Congress engaged to furnish on their part, five and twenty thousand Continental troops, that are to take the field by the beginning of the spring.

On the other hand, my dear sir, all Europe have their eyes upon us. They know nothing of us, but by our own reports, and our first exertions, which have heightened their esteem, and by the accounts of the enemy, or those of some dissatisfied persons, which were calculated to give them a quite different opinion : so that, to fix their own minds, all the nations are now looking at us ; and the consequence of America, in the eyes of the world, as well as its liberty and happiness, must depend upon the ensuing campaign.

The succour sent by France, I thought to be very important when at Versailles : now that I am on the spot, I know it was necessary ; and if proper measures are taken, I shall more heartily than ever, enjoy the happiness I had of being somewhat concerned in the operation. But if things stood as they now do, I confess that whether as an American soldier, whether as a private man that said a great deal, and knows Congress have ordered much more to be said on the future exertions of America,—who took a particular delight in praising the patriotic spirit of the United States, I would feel most unhappy and distressed, were I to tell the people that are coming over, full of ardour and sanguine hopes, that we have no army to co-operate with them, no provisions to feed the few soldiers that are left. &c. &c. But I hope, my dear sir, it will not be the case; and more particularly depending upon the exertions of your state, I know Mr. Samuel Adams' influence and popularity, will be as heretofore employed, in the salvation and glory of America.

If proper measures are taken for provisions, if the states do immediately fill up the continental battalions by good drafts, which is by far the best way; if all the propositions of the committee are speedily complied with, I have no doubt, but that the present campaign will be a glorious, decisive one, and that we may hope for every thing that is good: if, on the contrary, time be lost, consider what unhappy and dishonorable consequences would ensue from our inability to a co-operation.

Your state began the noble contest, it may be gloriously ended by your state's exertions, and the example they will once more set to the whole continent. The reception I met with at Boston, binds me to it by the strongest ties of a grateful affection. The joy of my heart will be to find myself concerned in an expedition, that may afford peculiar advantages to them; and I earnestly hope it will be the case, in the course of this (if proper measures are taken) glorious campaign.

I flatter myself you will be yet in Boston, and upon this expectation I very much depend, for the success of the combined expeditions. Such a crisis is worth your being wholly engaged in it, as it will be glorious, important; and I may say it now, because necessary for the support of the great cause in which you acted so early and decisive a part. What you mentioned confidentially to me at Boston, I have duly noticed, and shall ever remember with the attention of a friend. For fulfilling the same purpose, I wish we may be under particular obligations to you on this occasion.

Give me leave, my dear sir, to suggest to you an idea which I have lately thought of; all the continental officers labor under the most shameful want of clothing. When I say shameful, it is not to them, who have no money to buy

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were auxiliaries, and under the direction of the American authorities, was unbounded.

The warmest professions of reciprocal esteem and confidence, passed between the two commanders and their officers. Washington recommended to his officers, on this occasion, to engraft on the American cockade, which was black, a relief of white, that being the colour of the French cockade. This symbol of friendship and affection in the American soldiers for their allies, was received as quite complimentary by the French, and undoubtedly had its effect in producing cordial feelings between the two armies.

The arrival of the French fleet, although so late as the month of July, was still too early for the immediate co-operation of the American army.

The difficulties which Congress had found in raising men and money, sufficient to carry the plans of the Commander in Chief into complete execution, had always been a subject of disappointment and regret.

The preparations for the campaign of this year, had been made with uncommon perseverance ; but as the exertions did not commence with any considerable vigor, until it was publicly known that effective assistance was expected from France, the season had so far advanced, before sufficient levies could be completed, that it was a matter of consideration, whether the plans which Washington had digested, should be attempted immediately, or deferred till the next season.

After some hesitation, however, it was decided that immediate preparations should be made for the co-

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—no cloth to be bought. You can conceive what may be theirs and our feelings, when they will be with the French General and other officers ; and from a general idea of mankind and human honor, it is easily seen how much we should exert ourselves to put the officers of the army in a more decent situation.

I beg, my dear sir, you will present my respects to your family, and believe me, most affectionately,

Yours, La Fayette.

operative action of the Americans, both by sea and land.

Gen. La Fayette was authorised to explain the plans of the campaign to Count Rochambeau, and every thing seemed, for a short time, to indicate the success of the allied army. At the same time, however, it was well known, that the success of the whole plan depended on the superiority of the French fleet over that of the enemy. But the arrival of a reinforcement of battle ships from England, entirely deranged the plan of operations, by giving the enemy the greatest force by sea, and the arrangements for the campaign were, with the most bitter chagrin and reluctance, abandoned.

It was at this period of disappointment and vexation, that Benedict Arnold attempted to sell his country to the enemy. "While," says Marshall, "the public mind was anticipating the great events expected from the combined arms of France and America; while the army was assailed by every species of distress, and almost compelled to disperse by the want of food; while Gen. Washington was struggling with difficulties, and sustaining the mortification of seeing every prospect he had laboured to realize, successively dissipating; treason found its way into the American camp, and was machinating the ruin of the American cause."

The discovery of Arnold's treason was made just in time to prevent his giving up West Point, a most important fortress, into the hands of the enemy.

Soon after his defection, he was detached by Lord Cornwallis to Virginia, with a party of about six hundred men. Here he plundered the inhabitants, burnt their dwellings, and carried devastation and horror wherever he went.

In January, 1781, La Fayette was ordered to march against him, with a division, consisting of twelve hundred regular troops. Letters were despatched by the

Commander in Chief to Baron Steuben, and Governour Jefferson, requiring their immediate preparation to aid Gen. La Fayette in his expedition.

Meantime, Arnold had reinforced his army, and had taken a strong post, where he threw up works of considerable strength. Washington being informed of these circumstances, immediately repaired in person to Newport, where in consultation with Rochambeau, it was agreed, that the French fleet, and a part of the army, should embark to the Chesapeake, to co-operate with La Fayette against Arnold. But an engagement with the British fleet on the voyage, so retarded the progress of the expedition, that Arnold escaped a fate so well merited by his treason.

At this time, the enemy in Virginia were reinforced by two thousand regular troops, which gave them a superiority over any force which the Americans could bring against them.

Under these circumstances, the defence of Virginia was committed to La Fayette. "The troops under his command, had been taken chiefly from the eastern regiments, and had imbibed strong prejudices against a southern climate. The service on which they were detached, was not expected to be of long duration, and they were consequently unprepared for a campaign in a department where no relief could be obtained for their most pressing wants."

"From these causes, desertions became so frequent as to threaten the dissolution of the corps."

"This unpromising state of things was completely changed by a happy expedient adopted by La Fayette. Appealing to the generous and honorable principles of his soldiers,—principles on which his own bosom taught him to rely, he proclaimed, in orders, that he was about to enter on an enterprise of great danger, and difficulty, on which he persuaded himself, that his soldiers would not abandon him. If, however, any individual of the detachment was unwilling to accompany him, he was invited to apply for a permit to return to his regiment, which should most assuredly be granted.

"This measure had the desired effect. The disgrace of applying to be excused from a service full of hazard, was too great to be ventured; and a total stop was immediately put to desertion. To keep up the good dispositions of the moment, this ardent young Nobleman, who was as unmindful of fortune as he was ambitious of fame, borrowed from the merchants of Baltimore, on his private credit, a sum of money sufficient to purchase shoes, linen, spirits, and other articles of immediate necessity for the detachment."

"Having made these preparations for the campaign, La Fayette marched with the utmost celerity to the defence of Virginia. That state was in great need of assistance. The enemy had penetrated deep into her bosom, and was practising on its inhabitants those excesses, which will ever be experienced by a country unable to repel invasion."*

Gen. La Fayette arrived at Richmond, just in time to save that place, and a large amount of military stores which had been collected there, from the hands of the enemy.

At this period, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Petersburgh, and took the command of the whole royal army in Virginia; and finding himself at the head of a force which the Americans could not oppose, he immediately determined on a course of vigorous offensive operations. His field force amounted to eight thousand effective men, including four hundred dragoons, and eight hundred mounted infantry.

La Fayette's force in camp, near Richmond, did not exceed four thousand men, and of these, three fourths were militia. He was, however, occasionally reinforced by the state militia, brought into the field by the unceasing efforts of Governour Jefferson.

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* Marshall.

La Fayette put this force into the best situation in his power. He selected seven hundred and fifty of the best marksmen among his militia, and dividing them into three corps of light infantry, he placed them severally under the orders of Majors Call, Willis, and Dick, officers of the regular army. This was pleasing to the soldiers, who, seeing, the perils before them, were glad to be under the command of officers of more experience and skill, than those of the militia.

On the 24th of May, Lord Cornwallis began to move his army, and crossed the James river. La Fayette, who was well informed of his movements, broke up his position near Richmond, and fell back towards Fredericksburgh. This he did for the double purpose of approximating Gen. Wayne, who was on his march from the north, and of covering the manufactory of arms in the vicinity of Falmouth. Cornwallis followed, with a determination of bringing him to an engagement before the arrival of Wayne.

But La Fayette, knowing that his adversary had double his number of veteran troops, was in no way inclined to be brought to action. He therefore continued his retreat, and having passed the southern branch of York river, he posted his army near its bank.

In this position, he was overtaken by a detachment of light troops under Col. Tarleton, whose sudden appearance compelled him to form his army for battle. No attack was, however, made, and it was afterwards discovered, that this was only a large patroling party.

At this period, Cornwallis thought himself sure of his victim. In a letter, which fell into the hands of the Americans, he says, " the boy cannot escape me;" and it was, perhaps, this certainty in his Lordship's mind, which accounts for his not pressing La Fayette's retreat with more vigour, and bringing him to action.

La Fayette was often not more than twenty miles from the British General, who had at his disposal, at least one thousand horse and mounted infantry. Putting one soldier behind each of those mounted, he could by an easy exertion, in any twenty-four hours, have placed two thousand veterans, conducted by skilful and experienced officers, close to his enemy; whose attempt to retreat would have been so embarrassed and delayed, as to have given time for the main body to have approached. Then La Fayette's destruction would have been as easy as inevitable. Why this plain mode of operation was overlooked, and neglected by Cornwallis, did then and does still excite the surprise of all intelligent soldiers conversant with that transaction."*

La Fayette did not intermit his retreat, until he had crossed the Rapidan, the southern branch of the Rappahannoc. Here, Gen. Wayne joined him with eight or nine hundred men. Lord Cornwallis, finding that his enemy's retreat was more rapid than his own pursuit, gave up the chace, and determined to employ his force in committing to the flames the remaining resources of the state, which had already been greatly exhausted by the plunder and fire of his army.

"To this decision," says Lee, "he seems to have been led by his conviction that Wayne, united to La Fayette, diminished so little the relative size of himself and his antagonist, as to forbid his inattention to other objects, deemed by himself important, while it would increase the chance of striking his meditated blow against both.

"Cornwallis therefore, did not miscalculate, when he presumed that the junction of Wayne would increase, rather than diminish, his chance of bringing his antagonist to action. Had the British general pressed forward, determined never to stop until he forced his enemy to the last appeal, La Fayette or Wayne must have fallen, if severed from each other; and if united, both might have been destroyed. Had the destruction of La Fayette been effected, Lord Cornwallis had only to take post on the heights above Stafford court house, with his left resting on the village of Falmouth, to have secured all the plentiful country in his rear, between the two rivers, as well as that on the southern margin of the Rappahannoc; and to have established a convenient communication with such portion of his fleet, as he might require to be sent up the Potomac."*

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* Lee's Memoirs.

But the vigilance of the young General, in observing the designs of his enemy, and his activity in eluding the deep laid stratagems of his experienced antagonist, did not permit his Lordship to enjoy such a prospect.

Having abandoned the pursuit of La Fayette, the British commander retired first to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg.†

The Marquis followed with cautious circumspection, taking care to keep the command of the upper country, and to avoid a general engagement. On the 18th of June, while in the neighbourhood of Richmond, he was joined by Baron Steuben, with four or five hundred new levies. He now had two thousand regular troops, and although his policy was to avoid a general engagement, he was in a condition to harass the rear of the enemy by his light troops, prevent their foraging, and impede their march.

On his way, the policy of his Lordship to destroy property, both private and public, was continually pursued, and great depredations were every where committed. Tobacco, especially, was set on fire wherever it was found. About the middle of June, the British army left Williamsburg, and encamped in such a manner as to cover a ford leading to the island of Jamestown. On the next morning, La Fayette, ever watchful of the motions of his adversary, changed his position, and pushed his best troops within nine miles of the British camp, with the intention of attacking their rear, when the main body should have passed over into Jamestown.

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* Lee. † Marshall.

His vigilant enemy, suspecting this design, determined to effect by stratagem, what he had found neither pursuit nor retreat could accomplish. With this view he drew up his army on the main land, as compactly as possible, and at the same time, arranged a few troops on the island so as to appear like an army. La Fayette's reconnoitering parties were completely deceived by this display; and all his intelligence concurred in the information that the main body of the British army had passed over into Jamestown in the night. Not doubting the truth of what he heard, La Fayette now began to prepare for the execution of his plan. He detached some riflemen and militia to harass the enemy's out-posts, while he advanced at the head of his regular troops, to cut off the retreat of their rear.

As he came near the enemy, every appearance was calculated to confirm the information he had received. The picquets of the enemy were driven in by his advanced parties without much resistance. But in a matter of so great importance, the wary La Fayette determined to trust his own eyes only, and moved forward to reconnoitre the camp himself, and to judge of its strength by his own observation.

He soon perceived that the force of the enemy was much more considerable than had been apprehended, and that the stratagem of his veteran foe had already brought him much too near his more powerful army. He hastened back to warn his officers of the danger, but found Wayne, who always chose to decide matters with the sword, closely engaged. Wayne had discovered a piece of artillery which was but weakly guarded, and which was probably left in that situation as a decoy. This he determined to seize, and Major Galvan was advanced for that purpose. At this moment, he discovered the whole British army, arranged in battle array, marching out against him. It was too late to retreat, and, with his characteristic boldness, Wayne, with a rapid advance, made a gallant charge on the enemy's line. A sharp conflict ensued, which, for some time, was supported with great spirit. La Fayette now came up, and finding Wayne's party out flanked both on the right and left, ordered him to retreat. This was done in time to save his party, and he fell back to the line of regular troops about half a mile in his rear. The American army then retreated under cover of night through a difficult ravine, and fell back six miles, when, finding that the enemy were not in pursuit, they encamped for the night.

The Americans lost in this action, in killed, wounded and taken prisoners, one hundred and eighteen, ten of whom were officers. The enemy's loss was much less, being only five officers and seventy privates.

Most fortunately for La Fayette, Lord Cornwallis did not improve the advantage he had gained. Suspecting his march through the defile to be a stratagem of the American General to draw him into an ambuscade, and at the same time considering the boldness of the whole measure as indicative of a great force, his Lordship supposed the assailing army to be much stronger than it really was, and therefore would permit of no pursuit. In the course of the night, therefore, he crossed to Jamestown, and soon afterwards proceeded to Portsmouth.

"Thus," says Col. Lee, "concluded the summer campaign of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. For eight or nine weeks, he had been engaged in the most active movements, at the head of an army completely fitted for the arduous scenes of war, warmly attached to its

General, proud in its knowledge of its own ability, and ready to encounter every danger and difficulty to give success to its operations. The inferiority of La Fayette in number, in quality, in cavalry, in arms and equipments, have been often recurred to, and cannot be doubted."

Lord Cornwallis was the same General who had attacked Gates at the head of a very superior army, and who afterwards attacked Greene, though nearly double his number. In both instances, he risked his own destruction, and although victorious in the issue, was, upon both occasions, on the threshold of ruin.

Yet strange, when the primary object of the British General was the annihilation of La Fayette's army, he never effected it, even in part, though manœuvering for several weeks in his face, in an open country, and remote from every kind of support, except the occasional aid of the militia.

Lord Cornwallis was considered among the bravest, and was certainly one of the most experienced, of the British Generals ever sent to America. His omission to attack the American army, under almost any circumstance, has been considered unaccountable. But a re-consideration of the history of this campaign will show the probable reasons why he did not. Feeling himself greatly superior, as a General, to the youth who opposed him, he, at the opening of the campaign, considered the American army as certainly within his power, and he only waited a convenient time and place to effect its destruction. The junction of Wayne with La Fayette, although it did not alter the relative size of the two armies so as to make a battle, on the part of Cornwallis, a hazardous measure, yet the disproportion being less, it required a correspondent advantage to make his success as certain as before. This circumstance seems to have had much weight with the British commander. His great exertions to prevent this junction, and his willingness to retreat soon after, shows that, although he often invited La Fayette to a general engagement, he always had respect to his own position, as well as to that of his enemy, and was not unwilling to come to action under any circumstance as before.

But the consummate generalship of La Fayette during this whole campaign, was a subject of great praise, not only from his comrades in arms, and the nation, but even from the enemy whom he opposed.

The rapidity of his retreat, his sagacity and vigilance, displayed in penetrating and counteracting the designs of his more powerful adversary, and the adroitness with which he extricated his army from the trap which Cornwallis had laid, near Jamestown, displayed the experienced veteran rather than the youthful Marquis.

The American General had great difficulties to surmount, as well as to guard against his formidable foe, while pressing him on his retreat. Wayne directing his most efficient aid, was far on the right; and the Baron Steuben,* with the Virginian levies, was as far on the left. The public stores were deposited in several magazines; and the great body of the inhabitants

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* Frederick William Augustus Baron de Steuben; knight of the order of fidelity in Germany, and Major General in the army of the United States. This highly distinguished personage was a Prussian officer, aid de camp to the great Frederick, and held the rank of Lieutenant General in the army of that consummate commander. He arrived in America, December, 1777, and presented himself, with his credentials to Congress, proffering his services in our army, without any claim to rank, and requested permission only to render such assistance as might be in his power, in the character of a volunteer. In thus devoting himself to our cause, he made an immense sacrifice, by relinquishing his honorable station and emoluments in Europe. Congress voted him their thanks for his zeal, and the disinterested tender of his services, and he joined the main army, under Gen. Washington, at Valley Forge. His qualifications for a teacher of the system of military tactics were soon manifested; having for

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many years practised on the system which the King of Prussia had introduced into his own army. In May, 1778, by the strong recommendation of the Commander in Chief, Congress appointed him Inspector General, with the rank of Major General. He commenced his duties as Inspector, beginning with the officers, who were formed into separate bodies, frequently exercised, and instructed in the various movements and evolutions, when manœuvering battalions, brigades, or divisions of the army. He exerted all his powers for the establishment of a regular system of discipline, economy and uniformity among our heterogeneous bodies of soldiers. In the discharge of this duty, and to effect his favorite object, he encountered obstacles to which a less zealous spirit would have yielded as insurmountable. By his superior talents, indefatigable industry and perseverance, he rendered a service to our army, without which it could not have attained to a condition capable of achieving honour and glory in the face of European veteran troops. Charmed with the neat and soldierly appearance of those who had profited by his instructions, and duly improved in the art of discipline, and equally detesting the soldier whose awkward unmilitary conduct betrayed his negligence, there never was a review but the Baron rewarded the one with more than praise, and censured the other, whether officer or soldier, with a severity equal to his deserts. While reviewing our regiment, he noticed in the ranks a very spruce young lad, handsomely formed, standing erect, with the air of a genteel soldier, his gun and equipments in perfect order. The Baron, struck with his military appearance, patted him under his chin, to elevate his head still more erect, viewed him with a smile, and said, " how long have you been a soldier? you are one pretty soldier in miniature, how old are you?" Seventeen, Sir. " Have you got a wife?" then calling to the Colonel, said, " Colonel Jackson, this is one fine soldier in miniature."

Dining at head quarters with Robert Morris, Esq. and other gentlemen, Mr. Morris complained bitterly of the miserable state of the treasury. " Why," said the Baron, " are below the mountains, were flying from their houses, with their wives, their children, and the most valuable

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you not financier, why do you not continue to create funds?" "I have done all I can, it is not possible for me to do more." "But you remain financier, though without finances?" "Yes." "Well, then, I do not think you are so honest a man as my cook. He came to me one day at Valley Forge, and said, Baron, I am your cook, and you have nothing to cook but a piece of lean beef, which is hung up by a string before the fire. Your negro waggoner can turn the string and do as well as I can, you have promised me ten dollars a month, but as you have nothing to cook, I wish to be discharged, and not longer be chargeable to you. That is an honest fellow, Morris."

Though never perfectly master of our language, the Baron understood and spoke it with sufficient correctness. He would sometimes on purpose miscall names, and blend or adopt words similar in sound, dissimilar in meaning. Dining at head quarters, which he did frequently, Mrs. Washington asked what amusement he had recourse to, now that the certainty of peace had relaxed his labours. "I read, my lady, and write, and play at chess, and yesterday, for the first time, I went a fishing. My gentleman told me it was a very fine business to catch fish, and I did not know but that this new trade might, by and by, be useful to me—but I fear I never can succeed—I sat in the boat three hours, it being exceedingly warm, and I caught only two fish; they told me it was fine sport." "What kind of fish did you take Baron?" "I am not sure, my lady, but I believe one of them was a whale." "A whale, Baron, in the North river?" "Yes, I assure you, a very fine whale my lady;—it was a whale, was it not?" appealing to one of his aids. "An eel, Baron." "I beg your pardon, my lady, but that gentleman certainly told me it was a whale." "General Washington, now that his mind was comparatively at ease, enjoyed a pleasantry of this kind highly."

For the proper understanding of the following bon mot of Gen. Washington, it must be mentioned, that at Tatwa falls there was a miserable deformed object, who had lain in his cradle for twenty-seven years. His head was eighteen inchof their personal property, to seek protection in the mountains. The state authorities, executive and le-

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es in length, and the rest of his body twenty-seven inches. He received numerous visiters, among whom was his Excellency, who asked him wherher he was a whig or tory? He answered as he had been taught, *that he had never taken an active part on either side.* "A worthy gentleman and lady came out of New York after the preliminaries of peace were signed, to visit their friends, and resided in the neighbourhood of Baron Steuben, by whom the whole party, together with his Excellency and lady, were invited to dine. It is proper, said the Baron, that your Excellency should be apprized that Mr. —— and his lady from New York are to dine with me, and perhaps, Sir, you may not choose to meet Mr. ——. Oh, Baron, said the General, laughing, there is no difficulty on that point. Mr. —— is very like the big headed boy at Tatawa, *he never has taken an active part.* This was allowed to be a most adroit coup de sabre by those who knew the gentleman, though it is doubted whether if he had heard it he would have felt the stroke.

At the disbandment of the revolutionary army, when inmates of the same tent, or hut, for seven long years, were separating, and probably forever; grasping each other's hand, in silent agony, I saw the Baron's strong endeavours to throw some ray of sunshine on the gloom, to mix some drop of cordial with the painful draught. To go, they knew not whither; all recollection of the art to thrive by civil occupations lost, or to the youthful never known. Their hard earned military knowledge worse than useless, and with their badge of brotherhood, a mark at which to point the finger of suspicion—ignoble, vile suspicion! to be cast out on a world, long since by them forgotten.—Severed from friends, and all the joys and griefs which soldiers feel! Griefs, while hope remained—when shared by numbers, almost joys! To go in silence and alone, and poor and hopeless; it was too hard! On that sad day how many hearts were wrung! I saw it all, nor will the scene be ever blurred or blotted from my view. To a stern old officer, a Lieutenant Colonel Cochran from the Green Mountains, who had met danger and difficulty almost in every step, from his gislative, like the flying inhabitants, were driven from the seat of government; were chased from Charlottes-

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youth, and from whose furrowed visage, a tear till that moment had never fallen; the good Baron said—what could be said, to lessen deep distress. "For myself," said Cochran, "I care not, I can stand it: but my wife and daughters are in the garret of that wretched tavern. I know not where to remove, nor have I means for their removal." "Come, my friend, said the Baron, "let us go—I will pay my respects to Mrs. Cochran and your daughters, if you please." "I followed to the loft, the lower rooms being all filled with soldiers, with drunkenness, despair and blasphemy. And when the Baron left the poor unhappy cast-aways, he left hope with them, and all he had to give." "A black man, with wounds unhealed, wept on the wharf—(for it was at Newburgh where this tragedy was acting)—there was a vessel in the stream, bound to the place where he once had friends. He had not a dollar to pay his passage, and he could not walk. Unused to tears, I saw them trickle down this good man's cheeks, as he put into the hands of the black man the last dollar he possessed. The negro hailed the sloop, and cried, "God Almighty bless you, master Baron!"

What good and honourable man, civil or military, before the accursed party-spirit murdered friendships, did not respect and love the Baron? Who most? Those who knew him best. After the peace, the Baron retired to a farm in the vicinity of New York, where, with forming a system for the organization and discipline of the militia, books, chess, and the frequent visits of his numerous friends, he passed his time as agreeably as a frequent want of funds would permit. The state of New Jersey had given him a small improved farm, and the state of New York gave him a tract of sixteen thousand acres of land in the county of Oneida. After the general government was in full operation, by the exertions of Col. Hamilton, patronized and enforced by President Washington, a grant of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum was made to him for life. The summers were now chiefly spent on his land, and his winters in the city. His sixteen thousand acres of land were in the uncultivated ville; and at length, interposing the Blue Ridge between themselves and the enemy, to secure a resting

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wilderness; he built a convenient log house, cleared sixty acres, parceled out his land on easy terms to twenty or thirty tenants, distributed nearly a tenth of the tract in gifts to his aids de camp and servants, and sat himself down to a certain degree contented without society, except that of a young gentleman, who read to and with him. He ate only at dinner, but he ate with a strong appetite. In drinking; he was always temperate, indeed, he was free from every vicious habit. His powers of mind and body were strong, and he received to a certain extent, a liberal education. His days were undoubtedly shortened by his sedentary mode of life. He was seized with an apoplexy which, in a few hours, was fatal. Agreeably to his desire, often expressed, he was wrapped in his cloak, placed in a plain coffin, and hid in the earth, without a stone to tell where he lies. A few neighbours, his servants, the young gentleman, his late companion, and one on whom, for fifteen years, his countenance never ceased to beam with kindness, followed to the grave. It was in a thick, a lonely wood, but in a few years after, a public highway was opened near or over the hallowed sod! Col. Walker snatched the poor remains of his dear friend from sacreligious violation, and gave a bounty to protect the grave in which he laid them, from rude and impious intrusion. He died in 1795, in the 65th year of his age.

"Some few years previous to the Baron's death, a pious gentleman of the city of New York, who had a great affection for him, told me, with strong marks of joy, that they had passed the evening, and a part of the last night together —that the Baron confessed his full belief in Jesus Christ, with sure and certain hope, through him, of a blessed immortality. 'From the life our dear friend has led, in camps, and in the gay world,' said the good man, 'I feared; and you do not know what joy I feel, in the belief, that he will be well to all eternity!' The Baron was a member of the Reformed German Church, in New York."

Gen. North, from the impulse of his own affectionate and grateful feelings, erected a handsome monument with an appropriate inscription, in the Reformed German Church in place at Staunton. In this period of gloom, of disorder, and of peril, La Fayette was collected and undismayed. With zeal, with courage, and with sagacity, he discharged his arduous duties; and throughout his difficult retreat, was never brought even to array his army but once in order of battle.*

" Invigorating our counsels by his precepts; dispelling our despondency by his example; and encouraging his troops to submit to their many privations, by the cheerfulness with which he participated in their wants; he imparted the energy of his own mind to the country, and infused his high toned spirit into his army."†

New York, to the memory of his illustrious patron and friend, and these pages accord with the views of that memorial, in transmitting to posterity a renowned hero, whose name and invaluable labors should never be forgotten.

What remained of the Baron's estate, excepting one thousand dollars and his library, which he willed to a youth, whose father had rendered essential service in the war, and whose education he generously charged himself with, was bequeathed to his two affectionate aids de camps.—*Thacher's Journal*.

* Lee's Memoirs.

† The following anecdote is from Dr. Thacher's Journal. It not only serves to shew the vigilance of La Fayette, but that, such was the affection of " Charley" for his general, that he was willing to serve him, even at the risk of being hung as a spy.

" Cornwallis at one time formed a plan to surprise the Marquis while on the same side of the James river with himself, but the attempt was prevented by the following incident: The Marquis, unapprised of the particular situation of his opponent, contrived to send into his camp a spy to obtain intelligence. A soldier belonging to New-Jersey, by the name of Charles Morgan, generally called Charley, agreed to undertake this hazardous service; but insisted that in case he should be discovered and hang-

Lord Cornwallis did not escape censure for permitting La Fayette to escape out of his hands. "Now,

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ed, the Marquis, to secure his reputation, should have it inserted in the New-Jersey papers, that he was employed in the service of his commander. Having reached the royal camp, he was soon introduced into his Lordship's presence, who inquired the reason of his deserting. Charley replied, " that he had been in the continental service from the beginning, and while under Washington he was well satisfied; but being now commanded by a Frenchman, he was displeased with it, and had quitted the service." His Lordship commended and rewarded him for his conduct, and Charley soon commenced the double duty of soldier under the English commander, and spy in the employment of the Marquis, without suspicion. Lord Cornwallis, while in conversation with several of his officers, inquired of Charley, how long a time it would take the Marquis to cross the James river? Pausing a moment, he replied, " three hours, my Lord." His Lordship exclaimed, " three hours! it will take three days." " No, my Lord, said Charley, the Marquis has such a number of boats, and each boat will carry so many men; if you will please to calculate, you will find he can pass in three hours." His Lordship turning to the officers, said, " the scheme will not do." After having obtained the information required, Morgan began to prepare for a return to the Marquis, and he prevailed with several British soldiers to desert with him. When challenged by the sentinels, he artfully tampered with them by giving them rum, and while drinking he secured their arms, and then compelled them to go with him; and this brave fellow actually brought off seven deserters to our camp. On his return to head quarters, the Marquis accosted him with " Well, Charley, have you got back?" Yes, please your Excellency, and have brought seven men with me." Having communicated his information, the Marquis offered to reward him, but he declined receiving any money, and when it was proposed to promote him to a corporal, or serjeant, he replied, " I have ability to discharge the duties of a for the first time throughout the war,' says Lee, 'did ever doubt attach to the merits of the British general. In the North, in the South, in the cabinet, and in the field, he stood pre-eminent; the bulwark of Great Britain; the dread of America."

"When in command of mighty means, and in the heart of that state whose prostration he uniformly viewed as the first pre-requisite to the subjugation of the South, that he should content himself with burning tobacco, destroying a portion of our scattered stores, and chasing our governor from hill to hill, and legislature from town to town, comported neither with his past fame, nor with his then present duty."

While Cornwallis was retreating towards Richmond, La Fayette, observing his usual distance, followed in his rear. On the 18th his Lordship detached col. Tarleton, for the purpose of cutting off a small corps, posted at some little distance from the main body of the American army. The commander of the corps, Brigadier General Muhlenburg, getting information of this design, fell back upon La Fayette, and thus defeated the enemy's object. Meantime one of Tarleton's patrols of horse was fallen in with by col. Mercer, and was pursued and safely conveyed to the American camp.

This was the first success of the kind obtained by our army during the compaign.

After the passage of James River, Cornwallis detached Col. Tarleton to Bedford, for the purpose of destroying the stores intended to supply our army in the South, and thus to prevent any of Gen. Greene's light troops from joining La Fayette, some of whom

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common soldier, and my character stands fair, but should I be promoted, I may fail, and lose my reputation." He, however, requested that his destitute comrades who came with him, might be furnished with shoes and clothing, which of course was readily granted.

he believed were approaching. Immediately after the affair near Jamestown, the American commander was joined by a reinforcement of horse commanded by Capt. Moore.

About this period, Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded at New-York, directed Cornwallis to select and fortify a permanent post, convenient for desultory maritime expeditions up the Chesapeake and its numerous rivers, and capable of protecting line of-battle ships. The place selected for this purpose was York, not far above the mouth of York river. On the opposite shore from this place is Gloucester Point, a piece of land projecting into the river. Both these posts were taken possession of, and fortifications were immediately commenced.

La Fayette, as soon as he was advised of the position of the enemy broke up his camp, and recalled Wayne from the southern side of James river, where he had been detached to intercept Tarleton, and held himself in readiness to intercept Cornwallis' retreat, should that general discover the blow that was preparing for him, and attempt his escape.

About the middle of September, the joyful news arrived, that Count de Grasse was approaching the American coast with a powerful fleet, having on board three thousand land forces for the American service.

Gen. Washington, previous to this intelligence, had concerted a plan for the investment of New-York, the strong hold of the enemy, and the head quarters of Sir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief of the British army in America. But on the arrival of the squadron, this plan was abandoned, in consideration of some objections urged by Count de Barras, the French naval commander, and Washington decided to turn his arms against Cornwallis.

La Fayette was again ordered to take measures to arrest the march of Cornwallis, should he attempt to retreat to the south.

Meantime, Sir Henry Clinton, being informed of the preparations in which the Americans were engaged, did not doubt but an attempt was to be made on him, and therefore used great exertions to put his post in the best state, for a vigorous defence. Some intercepted letters from Washington, designed for the purpose, confirmed the British commander in this belief.

Pursuant to arrangements, Count de Barras with his fleet, sailed from Rhode Island on the 25th of August, 1781, while on the same day the last division of the American army, destined against Cornwallis crossed the Hudson, on the way to Yorktown.

On the 30th, Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with his fleet; and as soon as he had anchored, La Fayette sent on board an officer, announcing his situation, and that of the enemy. The Count immediately detached four ships of the line to block up York river, and at the same time landed the Marquis St. Simon, with the French reinforcement, to join La Fayette.

On the 25th day of September, the last division of Washington's army arrived at James river, at the landing place near Williamsburgh, where they were disembarked; and preparations for advancing against the enemy were soon completed.

La Fayette's head quarters being at Williamsburgh, Gen. Washington, attended by Gen. Knox,* and the officers of the allied army, Generals Rochambeau, Chatelleau and Du Portail, having arrived there on the 14th, went on board the admiral's ship, where the plan of attack was concerted.

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* Henry Knox, a Major General in the army of the United States, was born July 25, 1750. Before hostilities between this country and Great Britain in the revolutionary war commenced, he discovered an uncommon zeal in the cause of liberty. Being placed at the head of an independent company in Boston, he exhibited in this station a skill in discipline, which presaged his future eminence. It was at the unanimous request of all the officers of artillery, that he was entrusted with the command in that department. When the corps of artillery in 1776 was increased to three regi-

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ments, the command was given to Knox, who was promoted to the rank of a Brigadier General. He was actively engaged during the whole contest. After the capture of Cornwallis in 1781, he received the commission of Major General, having distinguished himself in the siege at the head of the artillery. Previously to the adoption of the present constitution General Knox succeeded General Lincoln as secretary at war in March 1785; and after our present government was organized in 1789, president Washington nominated him for the same office. He continued to fill this department till the close of the year 1794, when he resigned it, being driven from the service of the public by the scantiness of the compensation allowed him. In his letter to the president he says, "after having served my country near twenty years, the greater portion of the time under your immediate auspices, it is with extreme reluctance I find myself constrained to withdraw from so honourable a situation. But the natural and powerful claims of a numerous family will no longer permit me to neglect their essential interests. In whatever situation I shall be, I shall recollect your confidence and kindness with all the fervor and purity of affection, of which a grateful heart is susceptible." General Washington in reply assured him of his sincerest friendship, and declared him to have "deserved well of his country." During the last years of his life, General Knox lived at Thomastown in the district of Maine. It was in that place that he died, after a short illness, October 25, 1806, aged fifty-six years. His death was occasioned by his swallowing the bone of a chicken.

General Knox was distinguished for his military talents, his bravery. perseverance, and integrity. He possessed in an uncommon degree the esteem and confidence of Washington. Though a soldier and a statesman, he did not dismiss the amiable virtues of the man. There was a frankness in his manners, which was pleasing, and his heart was susceptible of the kindly affections.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

The whole American force being collected, and the harbor blockaded by the French fleet, on the 28th the allied army moved forward in four columns and took post in front of Cornwallis' lines and about two miles from him.

The siege was carried on with great vigour, our lines continuing to advance on the enemy until the 14th of October, when Cornwallis opened a most tremendous and effectual fire from his battery and two front redoubts, on his assailants.

This fire was so destructive that Washington determined to silence it with the bayonet, and for this purpose selected La Fayette to head the assault on the right, leaving it to Rochambeau to designate the officer who should lead the left, and the Baron de Viomenil was detached to co-operate with the Marquis. Lieut. Col. Hamilton commanded the van of La Fayette's corps, and such was the impetuosity with which the assault was made, that the resistance of the enemy was instantly overpowered, and the commander of the redoubt, and every man of his guard, with the exception of five or six, were either killed or taken. La Fayette instantly despatched Major Barbour, one of his aids, to the Baron De Viomenil, to communicate his success. The Baron, ready for the assault, was waiting to give time to the ax and facine men to cut down the palisades and fill up the fosse; when, astonished at the intelligence he received, he announced it with a loud voice to his troops, and ordered them to advance. This was done with the ardor of a Frenchman; and although the resistance was formidable, the enemy being double in number, and apprized of the approach, still the shock was irrisistible; the commandant escaped, but the place was instantly taken, with sixty prisoners.

Washington was highly gratified with the success of this double assault, and did not fail to commend, in high terms, the officers and corps engaged in it.

The siege was now prosecuted with the utmost vigour. So completely had Washington infused into his army his own solicitude to bring it to a speedy termination, that before daylight the next morning, after the redoubts were taken, they were included within the lines of our army.

Cornwallis saw, with amazement, the fruits of that night's labor, and began to be sensible that his condition was hopeless, unless a reinforcement, which he had anxiously expected for several days from New York, should very promptly arrive. In this hope he was however disappointed, and having maintained his defence with unceasing exertions until the 17th, he proposed cessation of hostilities. On the 18th the articles of capitulation were signed, and the "bulwark of Britain in America," and the dread of the United States, found himself under the humiliating necessity of surrendering himself, and his whole army, prisoners of war to the "rebel Washington."*

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* Marquis Charles Cornwallis, was born in 1731, and from his infancy was designed for the military life. He accordingly entered into the army at a very early age, and was made a captain in the light infantry in 1758. Three years afterwards he was Aid-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby, whom he accompanied in Germany till the end of the war. In 1761 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and the year following succeeded, on the death of his father, to the title of Earl Cornwallis. In 1765 he was appointed one of the lords of the bed chamber, and Aid-de-camp to the king. The year following he obtained the command of the 33d regiment of foot; and in 1768 he married Miss Jones, a lady of considerable fortune, who brought him a son and a daughter. On the breaking out of the war in America he was called upon to embark for that country; and his lady not being able to prevail with him to relinquish the service, died of grief. In that contest his lordship displayed great military talents, took possession of Philadelphia, contributed to the reduction of South Carolina, and de-

The commander in chief, in his orders of congratulation on this happy event, made his cordial acknowledgment to the whole army, as having displayed unvarying zeal, vigour, and intrepidity. In specifying officers who had performed services of peculiar merit, the name of La Fayette is mentioned among the most prominent.

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feated Gen. Gates with an inferior force. But in 1781 he was under the necessity of surrendering at Yorktown, to the united American and French army, soon after which he returned to England. The affairs of British India wearing a critical aspect, he was appointed governor-general at Bengal, where in December 1790 he took Bangalore, which was followed by the defeat of Tippoo Saib, who delivered to his lordship his two sons as hostages. This important war being thus honourably ended, he returned to England, and was created a Marquis, and appointed Master-General of the ordnance. The next service in which he was engaged, was as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, where he quelled an insurrection, defeated an invading army, and succeeded in effecting the important measure of a union between the two kingdoms. In 1801 he was employed as minister plenipotentiary in France, in which capacity he signed the preliminary treaty of peace at Amiens. His lordship again accepted the governorship of India in the summer of 1805, but soon after his arrival he died of a fever on his march to join the army at Ghazeepore, in the province of Benares.—*Watkins' Biog. Dictionary.*

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTURE OF LA FAYETTE FOR FRANCE, AND HIS RETURN TO AMERICA IN 1784.

Soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, La Fayette made preparations to visit his native country. The resolves of Congress on that occasion will shew that he was held in high estimation by that body, and that his services, particularly in Virginia, were considered as meriting the peculiar notice and high commendation of the Americans.*

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* *Extract from the Journal of Congress, Nov.* 23, 1781 :

" On report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Carroll, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Cornell, to whom was referred a letter of the 22d, from Major-General, the Marquis De La Fayette :

Resolved, That Major General the Marquis de La Fayette have permission to go to France ; and that he return at such time as shall be most convenient to him.

That he be informed, that on a review of his conduct throughout the last campaign, and particularly during the period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry and address in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by Congress of his merits and military talents.

That he make known to the officers and troops whom he commanded during that period, that the brave and enterprizing services with which they seconded his zeal and efforts, and which enabled him to defeat the attempts of an enemy, far superior in numbers, have been beheld by Congress with particular satisfaction and approbation.

That the secretary of foreign affairs acquaint the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States, that it is the desire of Congress that they confer with the Marquis de La Fayette, La Fayette sailed for France in the fall of 1781, and on his arrival, was every where received with those marks of distinction which he so highly deserved.

Franklin, who was the American minister at the Court of Versailles, honoured him with his particular

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and avail themselves of his information relative to the situation of public affairs in the United States:

That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs further acquaint the Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, that he will conform to the intention of Congress, by consulting with and employing the assistance of the Marquis de La Fayette, in accelerating the supplies which may be afforded by his most Christian Majesty for the use of the United States:

That the Superintendant of Finance, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Board of War, make such communications to the Marquis de la Fayette, touching the affairs of their respective departments, as will best enable him to fulfil the purpose of the two resolutions immediately preceding:

That the Superintendant of Finance take orders for discharging the engagements entered into by the Marquis de La Fayette, with the merchants of Baltimore, referred to in the act of the 24th of May last,

Ordered, That the Superintendant of Finance furnish the Marquis de La Fayette with a proper conveyance to France:

That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs report a letter to hist Most Christian Majesty, to be sent by the Marquis de La Fayette."

To these Resolutions the Marquis made the following reply:

"To the President of Congress:

"Sir—I have been favoured with the resolutions which Congress have been pleased to pay in my favour. Testimonies of their esteem and their confidence, that are so very flattering to me, could not but excite those exalted sentiments of gratitude, which I am unable sufficiently to express. My attachment to America, the sense of my obligations, and the new favours conferred upon me, are so many everlasting ties regards, and paid a proper deference to his opinions on the subject of American affairs.

In a letter to Washington, Dr. Franklin speaks of La Fayette as follows:

"I received but lately the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me, in the recommendation of the Marquis de La Fayette. His modesty detained it long in his own hands. We became acquainted, however, from the time of arrival in Paris; and his zeal for the honour of our country, his activity in our affairs here, and his firm attachment to our cause, and to you, impressed me with the same regard and esteem for him, that your Excellency's letter would have done had it been immediately delivered to me."

In 1782, when there was a prospect of settling a peace between the United States and Great Britain, frequent conferences were held on this subject at Paris, between lord Granville and Mr. Oswald on the part of Great Britain; Dr. Franklin on the part of America, and the Count De Vergennes on the part of France.

In these conferences, La Fayette was invited by Dr. Franklin to assist him in settling the most advantageous preliminaries for America.*

From Franklin's journal, and the notes that passed between him and La Fayette, there recorded, it will appear that the latter was almost unremittingly employed on this subject. That he possessed the entire confidence of Franklin and the other commissioners;

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that devote me to her. At all times, and in every part of the world, my heart will be panting for opportunities to be employed in her service. With unspeakable pleasure I shall transmit the resolve of Congress to the brave and virtuous troops, whom it has been my happiness to command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LA FAYETTE."

* See Franklin's Secret Correspondence with Congress.

and that he used great exertions as a mediator between them, is also shown by the same correspondence.

In Franklin's Journal for May, 1782, he says: "In the afternoon the Marquis de La Fayette called on me. I acquainted him with what Mr. Grenville had told me respecting his credential letter, and the expectation that a person would be sent to London on the part of this court, with a commission similar to his. The Marquis told me he was on his way to Versailles, and should see M. de Vergennes," &c.

The following note, on the same subject, is dated,

"Versailles, June 20, 1782.

"My Dear Sir,

"Agreeably to your desire, I have waited on Count de Vergennes, and said to him what I had in command from your Excellency. He intends taking the King's orders this morning, and expects he will be able to propose to Mr. Grenville a meeting for to-morrow; when he will have time to explain himself respecting France and her allies, that he may make an official communication, both to the king and the allied ministers. What Count de Vergennes can make out of this conversation,* will be communicated by him to your Excellency, in case you are able to come. In the other case I shall wait upon you to-morrow evening with every information I can collect.

"I have the honour, &c.
LA FAYETTE."

"To His Excellency,
B. Franklin."

These extracts serve to shew that La Fayette did not serve America in the field only, but that he was confidentially and actively employed on his return to Paris, in the cabinet of Versailles, to promote her interests, and hasten the conclusion of that contest, in which he had gathered unfading laurels. It appears, also, from Franklin's Journal, that the name of La Fayette had become so celebrated in Paris, that his national enemies, of the highest standing, were glad to gratify their curiosity by having an introduction to a man of whom they had heard so much.

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* Relating to a previous conference with Mr. Grenville.

In his Journal, Dr. Franklin mentions that he went to Paris to see Mr. Oswald, the British commissioner. "I told him," says he, "that the Marquis de La Fayette would breakfast with me to-morrow, and as he, Mr. Oswald, might have some curiosity to see a person who had, in this war, rendered himself so eminently distinguished, I proposed that he should do me the same honour. To this he cheerfully agreed." This was soon after the arrival of Mr. Oswald in Paris.

The honourable and tender regard which La Fayette had for the feelings of his fellow soldiers in America, as well as his nice regard for truth, was finely displayed on the following occasion.—

In Sir Henry Clinton's printed correspondence on the American war, there was a sentence purporting to come from La Fayette, the meaning of which was, that the American militia were worth nothing in the field. The Marquis, on seeing it, immediately wrote to Sir Henry as follows:

"*Paris, April* 29, 1783.

"Sir—Upon a perusal of your printed correspondence, I must beg leave to trouble you with an observation; not that I have claims to set forth, or relations to criticise. A sentence in your letter of —— is the only one I intend to mention: "Having said to lord Cornwallis, that he may be opposed by about 2000 continentals, and as La Fayette observes, a body of ill armed militia," you are pleased to add, "as spiritless as the militia of the southern provinces, and without any service;" which read as if it was a part of my letter. How far your description is undeserving, I think experience has proved; and that it came from me, no American will believe. But your correspondence is so public, that, with full reliance on your candour and politeness, I have taken the liberty to transcribe the passage, and to return it to you, Sir, as its true author. At the same time, permit me, &c.

"LA FAYETTE."

To this, Sir Henry Clinton, with very honourable feelings, made the following reply.

London, May 29, 1783.

"Sir,

"In consequence of the Letter you have done me the honour to write me, I have read over the publication in question; and I confess the remark alluded to, from the manner in which it is introduced, appears to make a part of your letter. You have, certainly, Sir, a right to this acknowledgment, and permit me at the same time to add, the assurance, &c.

H. CLINTON.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT OF LA FAYETTE TO AMERICA, IN 1784.

After the peace had been settled between the United States and Great Britain, General La Fayette again visited America. He arrived in the summer of 1784, and came for the friendly purposes of enjoying the peaceful society of his brave companions in arms, and to see the prosperity of a nation in which he delighted, and in whose defence he had so often hazarded his life.

The day after his arrival, he was invited to a public dinner, on which occasion the officers who had served in the late war, appeared in full military uniform. This being the first repast Gen. La Fayette had ever partaken in the United States, as a free and independent nation, it could not but have been an occasion on which the contrast between the horrors of war, and sweets of peace, and pride of independence, was most sensibly felt and appreciated.

After remaining a short time in New York, he went to Philadelphia, where he met with the same warm reception. The officers of the army and militia, together with the most respectable citizens, came in a body to meet him. They escorted him to the Governour's house, and from thence to the house prepared for his lodgings. In the evening, every house in the city was illuminated.

" The next day, Generals St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine, were appointed a committee from the corps of officers, to wait on La Fayette with the congratulations of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania.* It was not his friends and acquaintance alone, who thus expressed their heartfelt happiness at his return. The legis-

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* On that occasion the following address was delivered :
" We, the officers of the Pennsylvania line, deeply im-

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pressed with a grateful remembrance of your zeal and activity in the cause of our country, beg leave to welcome your return to this city.

"We very sensibly feel all the warmth of affection arising from the intercourse of the field; and while we look back on the scenes of distress freedom had to encounter, we can never forget, that, when destitute of foreign friends, you generously stepped forth, the advocate of our rights. The noble example you gave, by early bleeding in our infant cause, impresses us with an idea of your zeal and patriotism. A recollection of the fortitude and patience with which you have since encountered every difficulty, consequent to the situation in which you had to act, and particularly during that important crisis wherein you were called to the chief command in Virginia, endears you to us as a soldier; and while we mingle with the class of citizens, we can never forget the influence your conduct had in leading us to the liberty and independence we now enjoy.

"We have the honour to be,
With the most perfect esteem,
Your very obedient servants,
In behalf of the Line,
Arthur St. Clair,
Anthony Wayne,
William Irvine.

Major General the Marquis de La Fayette.
Philadelphia, *August* 10, 1784.

To this, La Fayette replied as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"In the wished for meeting with my dear brother officers, in your so kind reception and most obliging address, I am more happily, more deeply affected, than words can express: but my heart has long been open to you, gentlemen, and from the value it has, by your esteem and friendship, you may conceive what, on this oclature appointed a committee composed of delegates from each county, who presented him with an address, in the name of the legislature, a part of which is as follows:* "The representatives of the freemen of Pennsylvania, offer you their sincerest congratulations upon your happy arrival at Philadelphia, and welcome you in the name of the state. Enjoying the blessings of liberty and peace, we contemplate with much satisfaction, those distinguished persons, who, disregarding the dangers of the seas, united their endeavours with our own, to aid in terminating the war. Amongst these illustrious individuals, we rank you the chief. Your example and your zeal have animated and encouraged our own citizens, nor did you leave us until we had attained the great object of all our hopes." From Philadelphia, La Fayette proceeded through Baltimore to Mount Vernon, the seat of the illustrious Washington, where he spent several days with the man he most venerated. That visit must be remembered with peculiar interest and affection by La Fayette.

After passing through most of the principal towns on the sea-board of the United States at the south, he

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casion, must be the feelings of my affection and gratitude. That I early enlisted with you in the cause of liberty, shall be the pride and satisfaction of my life. But while on the glorious conclusion, I rejoice with those to whom I had the honour of being a companion in gloomy times, let me once more thank you for the peculiar obligations, which, either as a commanding officer in Virginia, or as a brother soldier and affectionate friend, ever bind me to the officers of the Pennsylvania Line.

"I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
With the warmest sentiments of
Esteem and respect,
Your most obedient servant,
LA FAYETTE."

* Holstein.

arrived at Hartford, Con. in the early part of October. He was escorted into town by a large number of citizens, and his arrival announced by the discharge of artillery. On Tuesday the 5th, he was invited to a public dinner at Bull's tavern, where the city officers, and a number of other gentlemen waited to receive and welcome him. On this occasion, universal joy and satisfaction were diffused by the presence of a personage so dear to America.

Before dinner the following address was made by the Mayor:

"Sir,

"The Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, beg leave to welcome your arrival in this city, which owes its birth to the successful toils of those heroes, who signalized themselves in our late contest. We esteem ourselves happy, in being honoured by the presence of a nobleman, who forsook the pleasures of his native country, risqued his life and fortune in the cause of liberty, and by his exertions, both in the council and in the field, so gloriously shared our toils, and contributed to our successes.

"And while we express our gratitude for your former assistance, permit us to entertain the hope, from the continuance of your friendsip, that the same hero, who aided the infant exertions of our country, and whom we are proud to *claim* as an American General, may still promote the establishment of our empire, and *be the means* of continuing to us the favour of that nation to whose assistance we are so greatly indebted for our liberty and independence.

"Amid the pleasure we feel on your arrival, we cannot but regret, that your visit to this city, as well as your tour in America, is likely to be of so short continuance; yet we beg leave to assure you, that in every place you will be attended with our constant wishes for your happiness, and that neither ourselves nor posterity can enjoy the blessings you have contributed to procure, without the most grateful remembrance of the benefactor.

"With sentiments of gratitude and respect,
We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
(Signed) Tho's Seymour, Mayor.
Major General the Marquis de La Fayette.

To this address La Fayette made the following reply:

"Gentlemen,

"Among the many enjoyments this visit affords me, I am happy to congratulate you upon those general blessings and private advantages, which, as a reward of virtuous efforts in the noblest cause, have attended the rising city of Hartford.

"From your too flattering expressions, Gentlemen, I most gratefully conceive the extent of your friendship, so far overpassing those of my merits. But while I delight in the confidence of America, I am sensible, in a measure, of deserving it by the warmth of my affectionate, boundless zeal; and need not add what sense I have of that alliance, so well cemented by common efforts, common triumphs, and a reciprocal esteem, which every political principle, and national sentiment, cannot fail, on both parts, most happily to cherish.

"My stay in this country, gentlemen, will to me ever appear too short. But before I leave it, I shall once more indulge the feelings of my heart, in presenting you personally with the respectful tribute of my gratitude, and my ardent wishes for the prosperity of this city.

"With the highest regard,
I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obedient, humble servant,
La Fayette.

From Hartford, the Marquis de La Fayette proceeded to Boston, and was met at Watertown by the officers of the Massachusetts line of the army, where he was addressed by Major General Henry

Knox,* in a manner appropriate to the occasion, and a public dinner was given him, at which the civil magistrates, the Governour and Council, as well as the officers of the late army were present.*

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* Address of Gen. Knox to Gen. La Fayette, at Watertown, Oct. 1784.

"We the late officers of the Massachusetts line of the continental army, embrace the first moment of your arrival, to welcome you with all the sincerity and ardor of fraternal affection: an affection commenced in the dark hour of our conflict, elevated and perfected through the successive vicissitudes of the war.

"We beg leave to observe, that we have had repeated occasions to witness the display of your military talents, and of joining in the approbation and applause which our beloved Commander in Chief, so often expressed of your conduct. We are deeply impressed with a sense of the various and important services you have rendered our country; and it will be the pride of some patriotic and enlightened historian, to enumerate your actions in the field, and to illustrate your incessant efforts to promote the happiness of the United States.

"We shall ever retain a lively gratitude for the interposition of your august sovereign and nation, at a time when America was oppressed by a formidable enemy. By his influence and the powerful assistance afforded by his land and naval force, the war has been happily terminated, and the independence of the United States firmly established, at a period much earlier than the most sanguine patriot could have expected.

"A mind like yours, ennobled by a generous attachment to the rights of mankind, must enjoy the highest pleasure in viewing the people, to whose cause you so zealously devoted yourself, in full possesion of that peace, liberty and safety, which were the great objects of their pursuit.

"Animated by virtue and the auspices of your own fame, may you go on to add to the splendour of your character, and heighten the glory of your country, by placing the name of La Fayette on the same list with Conde, Turenne, and her other immortal heroes.

In behalf of the officers of the Massachusetts line.

H. KNOX.'

The Massachusetts legislature being then in session, it was voted that the Marquis de la Fayette be invited by the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, together with the supreme Executive, to meet the two Houses of Assembly in the Senate Room, "to congratulate him on his safe arrival in the United States, after the final establishment

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General La Fayette's Reply.

"From the instant of our parting, Gentlemen, I have been eagerly looking forward to this period. How far my pleasure is completed by your kind welcome, I leave, my beloved friends, your own hearts to determine.

"While your affection and confidence ever made me happy, let me gratefully acknowledge, that for the marks of our beloved General's approbation, I felt myself wholly obliged to the gallant troops I commanded. Could my conduct, in any degree justify your partiality, it will be the pride of my heart to think the American was my school, every one of you my brothers, and that I was adopted as a disciple and son, by our immortal Commander in Chief.

"In the interposition of my Sovereign and nation, I enjoyed more than I could express; every French citizen felt with a patriotic king in this happy alliance; and from those troops who shared in our dangers, you meet with a peculiar regard and attachment.

"During my absence, gentlemen, my heart has been constantly with you. As an army we are separated. But forever, I hope shall unite in brotherly affection; and now that a glorious peace has terminated your labors, I rejoice to find your attachment to those principles for which you have conquered, ranks you among the most virtuous citizens of the Commonwealth.

LA FAYETTE."

* Boston Memoirs of La Fayette.

of peace, to which his friendly influence in Europe had largely contributed."*

A dinner was also given him at Faneuil Hall by the citizens, at which were present the Governour and Council, the Clergy, seventy-five officers of the late continental army, and other distinguished persons. When General Washington's name was given for a toast, La Fayette rose from his seat, and with a tear starting in his eye, began the applause, which was continued, and repeated again and again, by the company.†

In December, 1784, La Fayette prepared for his return to France. But before he sailed, he addressed a note to Congress, then in session, expressing a wish to take a respectful leave of that body before his final departure from his adopted country.

A committee was accordingly appointed by Congress to act upon La Fayette's letter, who reported, "That the merit and services of General La Fayette, render it proper that such opportunity of taking leave of Congress be afforded, as may strongly manifest their esteem and regard for him."

Upon this Report, Congress passed the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That a committee to consist of a member from each state, be appointed to receive the Marquis, and in the name of Congress to take leave of him. That they be instructed to assure him that Congress continue to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they have frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests, have perfectly confirmed. That as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotic citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honour and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him.

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* Boston Memoirs of La Fayette.

† Ib.

"*Resolved*," also, "That a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty, and signed by the President of Congress, expressive of the high sense which the United States entertain of the real talents and meritorious services of the Marquis de la Fayette, and recommending him to the particular favour and patronage of his Majesty."*

Agreeable to the above resolutions, the committee, consisting of a member from each state, assembled in Congress hall, where the Marquis was received, the resolves of Congress communicated to him, and each member took leave of him in turn.

To these proceedings, the General replied:—

"While it pleases the Congress of the United States so kindly to receive me, I want words to express the feelings of a heart which delights in their present situation, and in the public marks of their esteem.

"Since I joined the standard of liberty, to this wished for hour of my personal congratulations, I have seen such glorious deeds performed, and virtues displayed by the sons of America, that in the instant of my first concern for them, I had anticipated but a part of the love and regard which devote me to this rising empire.

"During our revolution, I obtained an unlimited, indulgent confidence, which I am equally proud and happy to acknowledge; it dates with the time, when, an inexperienced youth, I could only claim of my respected friends, a paternal adoption. It has been most benevolently continued throughout every circumstance of the cabinet and the field; and in personal friendships, I have often found a support against personal difficulties. While on this solemn occasion, I mention my obligations to Congress, the states, and the people at large, permit me to remember my dear military companions, to whose services their country is so much indebted.

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* Journal of Congress, for Dec. 1784.

"Having felt both for the timely aid of my country, and for the part she, with a beloved king, acted in the cause of mankind, I enjoy an alliance so well rivetted by mutual affection, by interest, and even local situation. Recollection ensures it. Futurity does but enlarge the prospect; and the private intercourse will every day increase, which independent and advantageous trade cherishes, in proportion as it is justly understood.

"In unbounded wishes to America, I am happy to observe the prevailing disposition of the people to strengthen the confederation, preserve public faith, regulate trade; and, in a proper guard over continental magazines, and frontier posts, in a general system of militia, in foreseeing attention to the navy, to ensure every kind of safety. May this immense temple of freedom ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind. And may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity, which will illustrate the blessings of this government, and for ages to come, rejoice the departed souls of its founders.

"However unwilling to trespass on your time, I must yet present you with my grateful thanks for the late favours of Congress; and never can they oblige me so much, as when they put it in my power, in every part of the world, and to the latest day of my life, to gratify the attachment, which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States.

With the highest regard, &c.

La Fayette."

At Annapolis, La Fayette received the last paternal benediction of Washington,* and having passed through Philadelphia, he arrived in New York, where a United States' frigate waited to convey him to his native country. On his departure, a crowd of all ranks assembled to take leave of him, and to catch the last sight of a foreigner who had fought and bled for the freedom they enjoyed. As the ship got under weigh, thirteen cannon from the battery, announced the number of states he had assisted to emancipate.

Soon after his return to France, the Legislature of Virginia, which state had peculiar reasons for remembering him with affection, passed a resolution to place the bust of La Fayette in their Capitol at Richmond. The Legislature, at the same time, passed another resolution, requesting the Municipality of Paris, through Mr. Jefferson, our Envoy there, to permit a similar bust of La Fayette to be erected in that city.

On this request from Virginia, Mr. Jefferson wrote to the Municipality of Paris as follows:

" The Legislature of Virginia, in consideration of the services of Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, has resolved to place his bust in their Capitol. This intention of erecting a monument to his virtues and to the sentiments with which he has inspired them, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, was induced by a hope that the city of Paris would consent to become the depository of a second proof of their gratitude. Charged by the state with the execution of this resolution, I have the honour to solicit the *Prevot des Marchands* and Municipality of Paris to accept the bust of this brave officer, and to give it a situation, where it may continually awaken the admiration, and witness the respect of the allies of France.

"September 17th, 1786."

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* Holstein.

In consequence of this letter, the Baron de Breteuil, Minister and Secretary of State for the department of Paris, wrote to the Prevot, &c. that the King, to whom had been submitted the proposition, approved of the bust's being erected by the city. Accordingly the council assembled on the 28th of September, and Mr. Short, an old member of the council of the state of Virginia, (Mr. Jefferson being confined by indisposition,) came to the City Hall of Paris, to present the bust, executed by Mr. Houdon, and to read the letter addressed to the Prevot, by Mr. Jefferson, as also the resolutions of the State of Virginia. M. Pelletier de Morfontaine, Counsellor of state and Prevot des Marchands, having opened the meeting by stating its object, handed to M. Veytard, the chief clerk, all the documents he possessed, to read, after which, M. Ethit de Corny, Attorney General, and Knight of the order of Cincinnatus, delivered an address, in which he recounted, in an interesting and impressive manner, La Fayette's services in North America, the confidence of the army in him, and the attachment of the people to him. In his capacity of Attorney General, he then gave the requisite instructions for the reception of the bust, agreeably to the wishes of the King. It was accordingly placed in one of the galleries of the City Hall.* This novel and interesting ceremony was witnessed by an immense number of spectators, on whom it produced the most salutary and affecting impressions.

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* Holstein.

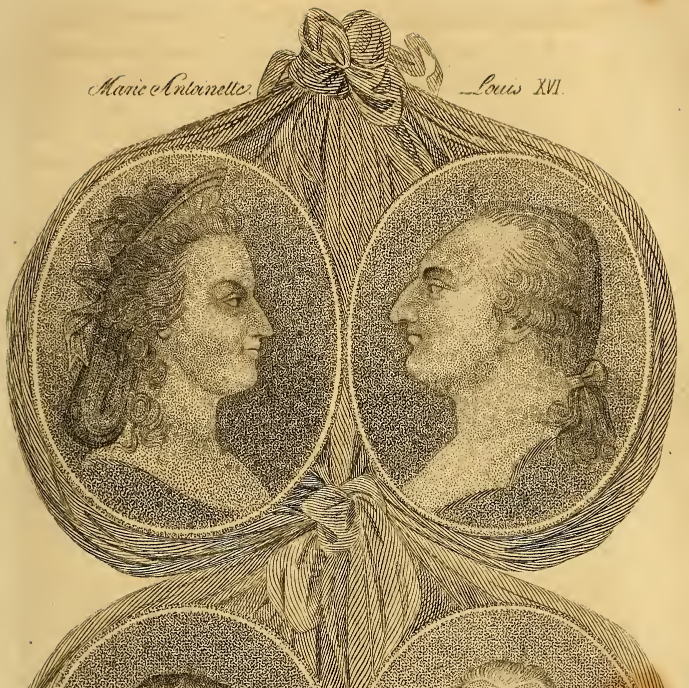
CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—LA FAYETTE APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS.—HIS FLIGHT, AND IMPRISONMENT, &C.

The part of La Fayette in the eventful revolution of France, and his motives for engaging in it, can be distinctly understood, only by a recollection of the state of that nation about the period of his arrival there from America. This chapter will therefore begin by recounting some of the principal political events which led to the revolution.

In 1774, Louis XVI. when but twenty years of age, succeeded his grandfather, and mounted the throne of France. One of his first measures was, to remove those from office, who, by their errors or misconduct, had become unpopular, and to replace them by men of talents and honesty. He likewise gave great satisfaction by suppressing the new, and calling the old Parliament. At the same time he declared his intention not to submit to any power in this Parliament, which should in any degree curtail the authority of the crown.

At this time, the state of the finances was such as to require great care and economy in their management; and for this purpose the celebrated M. Turgot was placed at the head of the financial department. His measure of rendering the internal commerce in grain, and its exportation free and unrestricted, was the occasion of a great scarcity of corn. The tranquillity of the country, as well as of Paris, was so much disturbed in consequence, that Louis found it necessary to have recourse to strong measures; and a military body, dependent on the police, were called out, and ordered to disperse the multitude, and to execute summary justice on the most guilty.


Marie Antoinette
Louis XVI
Willard Sc.
Bonaparte
Louis XVIII.

After the suppression of these disorders, Louis, in order to draw off the minds of his subjects from the recollection of them, and the harsh treatment by which they had been quelled, resolved to celebrate his coronation with great magnificence at Rheims; and to prove that the measures he had been lately compelled to adopt, were not the result of a tyrannical disposition, he issued an edict, which in future sentenced deserters from the army to work on the public road, instead of punishing them with death, as formerly. He also reduced the regular army, and introduced the strictest economy into all the departments of government.

Still the finances of France were in a miserable condition, and M. Turgot, not possessing the confidence of the public, resigned his place, and was succeeded by the celebrated M. Neckar. Such was the confidence placed in Neckar, that the entire management of the funds, and revenue of France, was submitted to him, with the title of Director General of the Finances.

About this time, Mr. Silas Deane and Dr. Franklin were sent to Paris, as commissioners from the colonies of America. Here they exerted, secretly, their influence with the leading men in the French cabinet; and though, in a public capacity, they were not admitted to an audience, yet they received sufficient encouragement to hope, that, ultimately, their country would receive aid, in its struggle for independence, from the arms of France.

French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into the service of America. These circumstances excited the suspicions of the British court; but no remonstrance was presented until warlike preparations were carried on to such an extent, as to leave no doubt that France was on the eve of hostilities with one power or the other. The British ambassador at Paris then questioned the French minister on this subject, who replied, that when the seas were covered with English and Americrn ships of war, and when large armies were sent to America, it became prudent for France to arm for the defence of her colonies, and protection of her commerce.

The French cabinet, however, waited until the success of the Americans had nearly determined their power to maintain their declaration of Independence, before any authorized act shewed the destination of these warlike preparations.

On the news of the capture of Burgoyne and his army, all pretensions to neutrality were dismissed, and the Independence of the United States was openly acknowledged by the Court of France, and Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane were received as public Ambassadors. A treaty of commerce and alliance was signed between the two powers, in February, 1788. The recal of the English Ambassador from Paris, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities.

M. Neckar still continued at the head of the finances, and endeavoured to render the pressure of the war as light as possible, by plans of economy and retrenchment; unnecessary offices in the household of the king and queen were abolished, and other important regulations adopted for the benefit of the kingdom. At the same time, the diplomatic skill and experience of the different French Ambassadors at the Courts of Europe, were successfully exercised in rousing them, either directly or indirectly, to take advantage of the present circumstances, and crush, or at least weaken, the naval power of Great Britain. As a long and intimate connexion had subsisted between the Courts of St. Petersburg and London, the French Ambassador at the former place was instructed to conciliate the inclinations of the Empress; and he conducted himself so adroitly, as to be very instrumental in persuading her to place herself at the head of the northern confederacy.

Towards the close of 1780, M. Sartine was removed from the marine department, which he had superintended for five years. His great and leading object had been, during the whole time, to place the French navy upon the most extensive and efficient footing; and he had succeeded in raising her naval power to an unprecedented height; but his measures for this purpose necessarily required the expenditure of very large sums of money, at a time when the finances of the nation loudly called for economy and retrenchment. Hence he became unpopular, was removed from office, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Castries.

The disposition of Louis, naturally humane, was most honourably displayed this year, (1780,) by the abolition of the practice of *putting the question* by torture; and his desire to relieve his subjects as much as possible from the pressure of taxes, was evinced by the further diminution of his own expenditure, and by his dismissing, at once, four hundred and six officers belonging to his court.

Neckar continued to be uncommonly active and faithful in the discharge of the duties of his important and arduous situation. But he conceived that it would not be impracticable to maintain the war by loans to government, without additional taxes. Unfortunately for this scheme, capital was far from being abundant in France. The preparations which were making to aid the Americans alone, required great sums of money, and it was seen that France must also prepare to defend herself against the powers of Europe. Such sums, it was found, could not be raised by loans, particularly at a period when the situation and nature of the government did not inspire the utmost confidence. M. Neckar's plan, although under other circumstances it would have been the most popular that could have been adopted, as avoiding direct taxation, was found impracticable. Other causes, also, conspired to make him unpopular. His temper was austere and unaccommodating, and the reforms and retrenchments which he had introduced into the various departments of the king's household, were represented as derogatory to the dignity and splendour of the crown. These were excuses for popular clamour against him, and he was dismissed from office towards the close of 1781. He was succeeded by M. de Joli Fleury.

The dismission of Neckar was by no means satisfacory, either to the king, or to the majority of the people. Nor was the mode of raising money adopted by M. Fleury, that of taxation, at all popular. The ministry, however, in order to multiply the resources of government without pushing taxation to a dangerous extent, endeaveured to kindle in Paris, and throughout France, such a degree of enthusiasm as would produce voluntary contributions towards carrying on the war. In this they were not without success. Several of the departments displayed their zeal by building and fitting out ships of war, and the clergy came forward with a free gift to the treasury of fifteen millions of livres. They also offered another million, to be applied to the support of wounded seamen, and the widows and and orphans of those who had been killed in the various naval engagements.

Although the preparations for war, in 1783, were very great, yet Louis being disposed to peace, the mediation of the Emperor of Germany, and the Empress of Russia, together with the triumph of the American and French arms over the British in the United States, operated to bring all the contending powers to terms of pacification, and articles of amity and commerce between England, France and America, were signed at Paris, on the 20th of January, 1783.

The joy created in France by the termination of the war, in which her arms had been so successful, and in which the power of Great Britain had been so greatly weakened by the loss of her American colonies, was excessive.

But this exultation was of short continuance. France, it was true, saw the mighty power of her rival abundantly reduced, but in effecting this, it was found she had reduced her finances to an alarming degree. The state of the treasury grew worse daily, and confidence in the sureties became weaker and weaker every time a new loan was to be raised. Three different successors to M. Neckar had in vain attempted to remedy, or even palliate the dreadful evil. Sufficient sums for the exigencies of the state could not be raised by any plan heretofore suggested. Government had to refuse the payment of bills drawn on them by their army in America. Both the resources and the credit of the nation were exhausted. The Caisse d'Escompte had to stop payment, and this was enough to create general and excessive alarm. Their notes having hitherto always been convertible into specie, at the option of the holders, had circulated very widely; and as they were not out to individuals at this period to a larger amount than usual, or than their known capital authorised, the suspicion was created, that they had, to the prejudice of the holders of their notes, and contrary to their own interest, as well as that of the public at large, loaned government the specie, which ought exclusively, to have been devoted to the payment of their notes. It now became absolutely necessary for government to interfere, in order, by supporting the credit of this bank, to restore the public confidence in it. Four edicts were therefore issued with this view: by these, the banks of Paris were ordered to receive the notes of the Caisse d'Escompte as currency; and a lottery, with a stock of one million sterling, was established, the tickets of which might be purchased with the depreciated notes.

This plan, for a time, raised the public credit, and Government having procured money, paid the American bills. At the same time, the stock of the Caisse d'Escompte rose considerably above its original subscription.

About this period, viz. in 1784, the disputes between the Emperor of Germany and the United Provinces, respecting the barriers and strong towns in the Netherlands, excited the attention and jealousy of France. The Emperor extended his pretensions as far as the Scheldt, and the Dutch, foreseeing the probability of hostilities, implored the mediation of the king of France in their behalf.

At this time there existed two parties in the court of Versailles. At the head of one, was the Count de Vergennes, the favourite of Louis, and, like him, was mild, humane, and a friend to peace. At the head of the other, was the Marshal de Castries, who was supported by the Queen, and, like her, was bold, intriguing, enterprising, and an advocate for war.

As the mediation of France had no effect on the measures of the Emperor of Germany, and the Dutch saw that they were on the point of hostilities with him, they importuned the King of France for a general to head their armies, and the Count de Mallebois was sent to them. Count de Vergennes, hitherto, had opposed any hostile or violent measures, but the encroachments of the Emperor had reconciled him to those now adopted. At the same time, the armies of France were ordered to move slowly towards the Low Countries, and to form a camp at Lans, of 80,000 men. The Queen of France, though ambitious and warlike, by no means approved of these hostile indications against her brother the Emperor, and tried to bring back the mind of de Vergennes to its habitual moderation and love of peace; but the Count could not brook the idea, that the honour, or interests of his country should be sacrificed. The warlike preparations therefore proceeded, until the Emperor, finding it for his interest to accept the mediation of France, the difficulties between him and Holland were accommodated, and the hostile preparations abandoned.

The internal condition of France, was, however, every day becoming more alarming. Mon. de Calonne was now at the head of her finances, and had displayed great address in the management of this department. But, like his predecessors, he was doomed to become unpopular. In 1785, he established a new East India Company, for the purpose of raising funds for Government. This measure excited violent censure. It was considered a monopoly, oppressive to the merchants, and an attempt, on the part of Government, to take into its own hands the business, and means of the people. The heads of other departments of Government did not escape the censure of those who were ever ready to blame want of success without consideration of circumstances. Men, whose philosophy had never been reduced to practice, did not want occasions to stir up popular violence against the proceedings of the constituted authorities, and the popular mind had become so discontented and irritable, that the smallest evil was the occasion of bitter complaints against Government. It may therefore well be conceived, that in this state of things, an edict, at the end of the year 1785, for registering a loan for three million three hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds sterling, produced the most violent murmurs. When the edict was presented to Parliament, they selected a deputation to wait on the King with their remonstrances; but he informed them that he expected to be instantly, and implicitly obeyed.

The ceremony of registering began the next day, accompanied, however, by a resolution of parliament, that public economy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, and that without it the necessities of the state could not be supplied, nor public credit and confidence restored. This resolution was highly displeasing to the king, and he ordered the records of parliament to be brought to him, and he erased the resolution with his own hand; at the same time declaring, that he expected in future they would communicate, in a loyal and respectful manner, whatever they deemed advantageous to the nation.

The situation of France was such, at this period, that Calonne, the minister of finance, saw that it would be necessary to convoke one of the great councils of the nation, the States General, or the Notables. Neither of these assemblies could be called together, except in cases where the country was in imminent danger, and the common authorities were either disobeyed, or were at variance with each other. The States General had not met since the year 1614. This assembly consisted of deputies chosen by the three estates, the nobility, the clergy, and the people at large. The Notables had sometimes been substituted in the room of the States General, and was preferred by Calonne. It consisted of a number of persons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state by the king himself. This mode of selection, it was expected, would render the power delegated to them perfectly safe, while their deliberations would be shorter, and more easily managed by the royal influence. At that juncture it was decided to convoke the assembly of Notables, and writs were issued for calling them together on the 29th of December, 1786. The total number of members was 144, and the opening of the assembly was fixed on the 29th of January, 1787.

The rank of the members was as follows, viz.—seven princes of the blood; nine dukes and peers of France; eight field marshals; twenty-two nobles; eight councillors of state; four masters of requests; eleven arch-bishops and bishops; thirty-seven heads of the law; eleven deputies of the *pays d'etats*, the lieutenants civil; and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns in France.

When the day of the meeting came, the minister Calonne, was not prepared; the time was therefore postponed to the 7th of February; but before this day, Colonne fell sick, and the Count de Vergennes died.

At length, on the 22d of February, the first meeting of the Assembly of Notables took place, and Calonne laid before it his plan for re-establishing the finances, and the public credit of the kingdom, which he prepared by pointing out the necessity of adopting it, or some other. The minister's plan was opposed, and his honesty and ability were severely attacked, chiefly by Count de Mirabeau, a man of brilliant talents, but of the most profligate principles and conduct, and who was resolved that if he could effect it, his country should be plunged into such a state of anarchy, as would give him opportunity to display his abilities.

Calonne finding that he could not oppose the torrent of unpopularity which was increasing against him, resigned his office in the month of April, and retired to England.

The assembly of Notables continued their sittings, but it was evident that they did not intend to assist the king in extricating himself from his difficulties, unless they were recompensed for their assistance by a compliance to their demands, on the part of his Majesty; and it was equally evident, that these demands would go far to reduce the royal authority. Louis, however, did not dare to recede, and dismiss this assembly, because it was through their acts alone that he saw any prospect of recruiting the finances of the kingdom. He appointed the Archbishop of Toulouse to succeed Calonne as minister of the financial department, but soon found that he had gained nothing by the change, and that the former proposition of territorial impost, was now the only means of raising money which he could devise. To this, the assembly were violently opposed. It was now seen by the Notables, as well as by the king, that the state was in such a condition as to place their sovereign completely in their power. Louis found himself perplexed and embarrassed on every side; but finding that this assembly neither had afforded, nor intended to afford him relief, but on the contrary had increased his difficulties, he at length determined to dissolve it. It was accordingly dismissed, and royal edicts were issued for raising funds for the exigencies of the state. To this the parliament of Paris objected in a most peremptory manner. The king in his turn had recourse to compulsory measures. The parliament in answer declared that the first person who should attempt to carry the edict into execution should be punished as a traitor to his country.

At this crisis, the king acted with unusual decision and vigour. As soon as the discontents and opposition of the Notables began to wear a formidable aspect, large bodies of troops were gradually brought into Paris. The king came to a determination to dismiss the Parliament. He therefore directed some of the military officers to signify to each individual member of that body, that it was the king's pleasure that he should immediately leave Paris. The parliament, probably forewarned, or apprehensive of this measure, had previously registered their opinion, that no permanent tax could be legally imposed, except by the authority of the three estates ofthe kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the people.

For a short period, Louis endeavoured to proceed without the Parliament, but he found it impossible. He was frugal and economical in his habits of expenditure; but the savings, thus effected, went but a little way towards the removal of his financial difficulties, while they failed in gaining him the confidence and approbation of his subjects. He therefore at last recalled the Parliament, and a kind of compromise took place between them: Louis gave up the territotorial impost, and the stamp duty. But these concessions on the part of the king, failed to appease the people, who regarded them as the effects of apprehension, and of conscious weakness, or the giving up unjust claims. The Parliament too, regarded their recal as a triumph, and were still less disposed to submission and obedience. The king, in the month of November, laid before them two edicts, one for raising about nineteen millions sterling by loan, and the other for the re-establishment of the Protestants in their civil rights. Both these edicts were introduced by a speech from his Majesty, in which he intimated his expectation of obedience from Parliament. A bold and animated debate followed, which was so offensive to the king, that he suddenly arose, and commanded the edict for registering the loan to be immediately recorded. Scarcely had the king sat down, when the Duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, declared this command of Louis, an infringement of the rights of Parliament, and on this ground entered his protest against all his proceedings as illegal, and void. The king again repeated his commands, and left the assembly. On his departure, the protest of the Duke was formally sanctioned by Parliament.

The first action of the king after leaving the assembly, was to order the banishment of the Duke of Orleans, and to issue *lettres de cachet* against two members of Parliament, who had been most violent in the debate. About the beginning of 1788, however, the Duke was recalled, and the two members liberated.

Towards the close of the year, Neckar was recalled, and again placed at the head of the finances.—This minister soon perceived that the royal authority was very considerably weakened since he was in power before, and that Louis had only the choice of difficulties, and even of hazardous expedients. It was therefore his opinion, that the aspect of affairs was such, as to make it necessary to call together the

States General. To this the king consented, and this assembly, consisting of upwards of one thousand members, was convoked by the king's order.

On the 5th of May, 1789, this august assembly was opened by his Majesty at Versailles. His speech on this occasion was conciliating and prudent; he did not affect to conceal the discontents of the people, while he expressed his conviction that the causes of these discontents, so far as they were real and just, would be removed by the wisdom and patriotism of the assembly.

After the assembly was organized, and was ready to proceed to business, a difficulty arose among the different bodies of which it was composed.

The nobility and clergy seemed resolved to decide every question by a majority of the orders, or bodies taken separately.

Several of the clergy, and a few of the nobility, however, finally agreed to act with the commons; but as the rest were refractory, the Abbe Sieyes,* on the

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* Abbe Sieyes, was born at Frejus, in the eastern part of Provence, in the year 1748. He was successively a Clergyman, a Vicar General, a Canon, Chancellor of the Church of Chartres; and lastly invested with the permanent administrative employment, of Counsellor-Commissary, from the Diocese of Chartres to the superior Clergy of France.

He was esteemed a learned Civilian and Canonist, and possessed a considerable share of knowledge in the Belles-Lettres; his favourite studies, however, were metaphysics, politics, and œconomics. He spent the greater part of every year in the capital, where he associated with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, &c. He was at this time a member of the Œconomical Society, which held its sittings in the Hotel of the Chancellor Segur.

Notwithstanding these excellent qualifications and connections, it is more than probable that Sieyes would have continued in obscurity through life, if the Revolution had not brought him into a situation calculated to display his

15th of June made a motion, the object of which was, to declare that the commons, with such members of

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talents. Being appointed a Deputy to the States-General, he began his career by the publication of a judicious pamphlet, entitled "What is the Third Estate?" This soon became the most fashionable book in Paris.

After the meeting of the *Tiers Etat* at Versailles, he was the first person who proposed that they should call themselves "the Assembly of the Representatives of the French people," and he supported his project with considerable ingenuity. Mirabeau, who was the better statesman, seeing his predilection for metaphysics, took this occasion to warn him of the inconveniences which might arise from applying abstract deduction to the practice of government and legislation.

When the misunderstanding between the different orders in the States-General assumed a serious aspect, great numbers of troops were drawn around the capital, and the Deputies in the popular interest had reason to be apprehensive for their safety. It was Sieyes, who, in the sitting of the 8th of July, stated to the assembly the maxim in the province of Britanny, that no troops should be allowed to approach nearer than within ten leagues of the place in which the States were sitting; he proposed therefore an Address to the King to desire that he would order the troops to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Versailles.

Sometime previously to the month of October, when the King was attacked in his palace by the Parisian mob, a Secret Committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, and the Abbe Sieyes, is said to have met in the village of Montrouge, near Paris. They had agreed upon a scheme for placing the Duke of Orleans in so distinguished a situation in the government, that, with the assistance of his immense fortune, and under the influence of his name, they could not fail to have the command of the populace, and consequently possess a decisive weight in the National Assembly. Whether their design was to render this prince of the blood royal an useful in-the nobility and clergy as had united with them, were the known and acknowledged representatives of the

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strument in furthering the Revolution, or to open to him an easy path to the throne, history has yet to unravel: the fact is brought forward in this place merely to shew how far Sieyes came under the denomination of an Orleanist.

Certain it is, that he either was, or affected at one time to be, a zealous royalist. In the year 1791, when it was thought that the King, by attempting his escape, had abdicated the crown, a combination was formed, consisting of Condorcet and Brissot in France, and Paine in England, for the publication of a periodical paper, under the title of The Republican. Sieyes actually printed answers to essays which appeared, from time to time, in this work, and declared his intentions to support a Monarchy against a Republic by every means in his power! It is not known whether the succeeding events of the Revolution, or some stronger reasons have since operated to render him so strenuous a proselyte to the Republican system.

Sieyes was the author of the famous declaration of "the rights of man," which was decreed by the National Assembly. It was written in his usual metaphysical manner, and excited very different sensations in every country of Europe. Mr. Burke was among the most furious of his assailants, and stated that he wanted to reduce the art of governing to the rules of architecture, and to measure the passions of men with a geometrical compass.

His indifference about dignities or eminent situations, which might draw upon him the attention of the public, and consequent responsibility, was strikingly exemplified after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. He was designed by his friends as a candidate for the metropolitan church of Paris, but declined the honour, and allowed Gobet to be elected in his stead. He was then appointed a member of the department, which he neither accepted nor refused; and his conduct on this occasion, savoured so much of arrogance as to disgust even his most partial admirers.

nation. On the following day this motion was carried; and the appellation of *National Assembly* was given to the meeting.

In 1792, Sieyes was appointed a member of the National Convention. Nothing remarkable distinguished his conduct during the first period of that tumultuous assembly. When, however, it voted the punishment of Louis, such was the influence of Sieyes that a great number of members reserved themselves till they had heard his opinion. It was consequently understood, that upon that would depend the fate of the King. Sieyes at length mounted the tribune; an awful silence pervaded the anxious assembly; eloquence, combined with philosophy, was expected on all sides; he, however, interrupted the solemn pause with only five emphatic monosyllables "Je suis pour la mort!" and instantly withdrew.

From this time he was so carefully concealed from the public eye, that it was actually made a question whether he was dead or alive. It has, however, been suspected by the Parisians, that he directed, from his retreat, many of the atrocities which were committed under the reign of Robespierre.

Sieyes took no part in the re-action of the *Thermidorians*. From the death of Robespierre, until February 1795, he still remained behind the curtain, and did not appear upon the stage until he was certain there was no danger of the mountaineers regaining their ascendancy. By way of apology for having thus absented himself from business during two years, he published memoirs of his own life, the purport of which was to lament that the mountain party had abused his definitions of the Rights of Man; and to state that his system had been intended only as the skeleton of civil society; a skeleton which, according to situation, was susceptible of numberless modifications.

From this period began the most brilliant career of Sieyes's public life. Having obtained the unbounded esteem and confidence of his colleagues, he was fixed upon to regulate the external relations of the Republic. It was

The first acts of this assembly plainly indicated that there was an intention to wrest from the king almost

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he, who suggested the scheme of concluding separate treaties with the coalesced powers, with the view to create such a misunderstanding as would prove fatal to the royal confederacy.

The subsequent conduct of the European cabinets has evinced that the Abbe was right in his conjectures, and thus a Vicar of Chartres has out-manœuvred all the experienced Statesmen in Europe.

The plans of Sieyes, for the aggrandizement of the French Republic, were developed so early as April 1795. He advised his colleagues to retain the Austrian Netherlands, and was the first projector of the alliance with Holland. He, himself, went to the Hague as French Plenipotentiary, for the purpose of concluding that famous treaty.

Those who did not comprehend the designs of Sieyes, highly disapproved of a treaty with a petty power, not geographically united to France, and whose democratic constitution had not been acknowledged by the King of Prussia, brother-in-law to the ci-devant Stadtholder.—Even the greater part of his colleagues in the Committee of Public Safety were of opinion, that the Netherlands should be restored to Austria; and so late as the month of August in that year, Boissy d'Anglas gave his opinion in the Committee, that the Emperor would rather endanger his crown than relinquish those important possessions. The opinions of Sieyes was, however, adopted, for the National Convention decreed the union of Belgium with the French Republic.

So signal were the services thus performed by Sieyes to his country, that at the time of the adoption of the new constitution, he was elected one of the five members of the Executive Directory. He acted, however, on that occasion as he did in the year 1791, when he declined the Archbishopric of Paris.

In February, 1796, he was appointed a member of the National Institute, in the class of Metaphysics and Morals; and, by an unaccountable singularity of choice, the very all the authority which had heretofore been considered as vested in the crown.

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same man who had declined a place in the Directory, accepted of the chair of Literature in the central school at the *College de Mazarin !*

It was reported in May, 1796, that Sieyes was the author of the peace between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. This is highly probable, because he continued for some time to direct the external policy of the Directory, nearly in the same manner as he had formerly superintended that of the Committee of Public Safety. A treaty so disgraceful to an independent sovereign, could scarcely have been wished for, even by the most inveterate jacobin. The writer of this article, who was then in Paris, recollects, that when the English newspapers reached that city, which contained the memorable speech of Lord Fitzwilliam, proposing a *bellum internecinum*, a great many intelligent Frenchmen avowed that his Lordship's idea was fully justified by the revolutionary diplomatics of the Abbe Sieyes.

This Deputy, on account of the insensiblity of his heart, and his camelion-like conduct, is little beloved in France. In the spring of 1797, he very narrowly escaped assassination with a pistol by the Abbe Poulle.

During the preceding autumn, he was so abused by means of lampoons and pasquinades, that he was obliged to quit Paris, upon the entrance of the new third into the Legislature ; and did not leave his retreat until the violent crisis of the 4th of September.

No sooner had this taken place, than he once more appeared in the Legislative and Literary assemblies, and took an active part in the deliberations of both. A little while after, a new scene was opened to his ambition, and he who had refused to be a Bishop, and even a Director, condescended at length to become an Ambassador.

He accordingly repaired to the Court of Berlin, in the character of Minister Plenipotentiary ; and, notwithstanding the many reports to the contrary, has assuredly met with a distinguished reception. The grand object of his

Louis expressly directed that the three orders of which the Assembly were composed, should separate. This order was followed by most of the Nobility, and some of the Clergy, but the Commons firmly opposed, and entirely disobeyed the King's command; and before they adjourned, voted, on motion of Mirabeau, "that the person of every deputy should be regarded as inviolable."

Having given the above rapid sketch of the beginning of the French revolution, down to the period when the subject of these memoirs takes an active and conspicuous part in it, we will turn the attention of the reader more particularly to him.

La Fayette was elected a member of the States General, or National Assembly, from the department of Auvergne, in 1789. In July of that year, he addressed the Assembly, and proposed a declaration of rights, similar to that which the Americans placed at the head of their Constitution, after asserting their Independence. A copy of this paper was transmitted by him to the electors of Paris, then assembled, that it might be read to the people. It was accompanied withthe following energetic address:

"Call to mind the sentiments which nature has engraven upon the hearts of every citizen; and which assumes a new force, when recognized by all.—For a nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." On this occasion, it is said that Mirabeau felt a strong pang

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mission was to neutralize the King of Prussia, and this he has completely effected, by arousing the jealousy of that Monarch, and pointing out the House of Austria as the natural enemy of that of Brandenburgh.

Sieyes has been ridiculed by Mr Burke, who affected, ironically, to recommend to the Reformers here, "one of the new constitutions ready cut and dried, from the pigeon-holes of the Abbe's bureau."

of envy, that La Fayette should have been the first, thus to have given a hint on so important a subject as a new constitution.

After La Fayette had finished reading his paper to the Assembly, M. de Lally Tolendal, a member, arose and said, "With the exception of a few lines which admit, perhaps, of discussion, I second the motion which has just been offered. All the principles in this declaration are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble and sublime. The author of the motion now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has already shown in defending it."

In this Assembly, La Fayette was the first to propose a suppression of that engine of tyranny, the *lettres de cachet!* he also demanded the abolition of the prisons of State, and obtained a resolution in favour of the civil condition of the Protestants.

During the summer of this year, such were the popular commotions, that the king found his reliance must be placed on the army.* The National Assembly, also, foreseeing the probable consequences of the difficulties with which the nation was torn, had formed a

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* In the month of June, of this year, the proceedings of the National Assembly, or rather that part of it called the Commons, produced general alarm among the friends of the King. In their sitting of the 21st of this month this Assembly, acting in conformity to previous vote, "that the Commons, with such of the Clergy and Nobility as would join them, should be the legal representatives of the Nation," assumed the reins of government, voted taxes, made arrangements to discharge a part of the national debt by a loan, and distributed money to the poor, who were in want of corn. These acts being passed, without the concurrence of the King, were in direct violation of his sovereignty. An attempt was made on the following morning to prevent the further meetings of the Assembly. For this purpose an officer of the royal guards and sixty men, were stationed at the door of the Assembly room, to prevent the entrance of the Deputies, and at nine o'clock, the King's heralds proclaim-

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ed a suspension of the meetings till Monday, when his Majesty would attend at the house to receive them. The president, with several of the members, arriving at the usual time, and finding the door shut against them, remained some time in the street, but at length adjourned to the tennis-court, and there held their assembly till late in the evening, when all present, before they separated, individually took the following oath: "We solemnly swear, never to separate from the National Assembly, but to unite ourselves in every place, whenever circumstances may require, until the Constitution of the kingdom is established on a solid foundation."

"Resolved, That this determination shall be printed and sent to the different provinces."

Paris was in the greatest consternation at these proceedings, and the whole court under the most perplexing embarrassment. The King, however, determined to go to the house, agreeably to his proclamation, and on the 25th of June he opened the Assembly by the following speech:

"Gentlemen,

"At the time I took the resolution of assembling you; when I had surmounted all the difficulties which threatened a convocation of my States; when I had, to use the expression even preconceived the desires of the nation, in manifesting beforehand my wishes for its welfare, I thought to have done every thing which depended on myself for the good of my people.

"It seemed to me that you had only to finish the work I had begun; and the nation expected impatiently the moment when, in conjunction with the beneficent views of its sovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its representatives, it was about to enjoy that prosperous and happy state which such an union ought to afford.

"The States General have now been opened more than two months, and have not yet agreed on the preliminaries of its operations. Instead of that source of harmony which springs from a love of country, a most fatal division spreads an alarm over every mind. I am willing to believe, and I shall be happy to find that the disposition of Frenchmen is not national militia, on which they intended to rely, in case of necessity. La Fayette, though a known friend

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changed; but to avoid reproaching either of you, I shall consider that the renewal of the States General, after so long a period, the turbulence which preceded it, the object of this Assembly, so different from that of your ancestors, and many other objects, have led you to an opposition, and to prefer pretentions which you are not entitled to.

"I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to dissipate the fatal divisions. It is with this resolution, Gentlemen, that I convene you once more around me. I do it as a common father of all my people—I do it, as the defender of my Kingdom's laws, that I may bring to your memory the true spirit of the Constitution, and resist those attempts which have been made against it.

"But, Gentlemen, after having established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect, from the zeal of the two principal classes—I expect, from their attachment to my person—I expect, from the knowledge they have of the pressing urgencies to the State, that in those matters which concern the general good, they should be the first to propose a re-union of consultation and opinion, which I consider as necessary in the present crisis. and which ought to take place for the general good of the kingdom."

After the delivery of this speech, the King ordered every one to retire, and to meet again on the next day, in the Chamber of Orders.

The Nobles, and part of the Clergy, shouted *vive le Roi*; but the Commons remained in profound silence; nor would they quit the hall, where, together with about fifty Clergy, who would not separate from them, they instantly began to discuss the Royal proceedings. Four times the King sent an officer to order them, on their allegiance, to break up the meeting; four times did they deny the authority of the King to order them to separate, and, by their firmness, they carried their point, and proceeded to business. M. Le Camus, one of the deputies of Paris, moved "that the National Assembly do persist in all its preceding resolutions;" and those who remained of the clergy, requested that their presence to the King, was appointed by the Assembly, Commander in Chief of the Militia. This appointment was sanctioned by his Majesty, and thus in this instance the National and Royal parties were united. La Fayette, though in the partial confidence of the Royal party, was still a strong advocate for the liberties of his country. He saw the necessity of a reform, but was willing that it should be effected gradually. While, therefore, the national party placed the most implicit confidence in his military talents, and patriotism, the King depended on his moderation and personal attachment.

The committee which had been appointed to lay down the principles of a new Constitution, expressly

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might be specified. This motion passed unanimously, and the Assembly continued its sitting all night, and all the next day. Another motion followed from Mirabeau, nearly in these words: "The National Assembly, feeling the necessity of securing personal liberty, freedom of opinion, and the right of each deputy of the States General to enquire into, and censure all sorts of abuses and obstacles to the public welfare and liberty, do resolve, That the person of each deputy is inviolable; and any individual, public or private, of whatever quality, any body corporate of men, any tribunal, court of justice, or commission whatever, who should dare, during the present session, to prosecute, or cause to be prosecuted, arrest, or cause to be arrested, detain, or cause to be detained, the person of one, or more deputies, for any proposition, advice, or opinions, or speech, made by them in the States General, or in any of its Assemblies, or Committees, shall be deemed infamous, and a traitor to his country, and that, in any such case or cases, the National Assembly will pursue every possible means and measures to bring the authors, instigators, or executors of such arbitrary proceedings, to condign punishment." This motion passed, 483 to 34.

Every thing was now in a most violent state of fermentation, both at Paris and Versailles, a prelude to the horrible events which soon followed.

declared that the King ought to have a *veto* on every law. This proposition met with violent and general opposition from the people, and while it was discussed in the Assembly, numerous guards of militia, and several pieces of cannon, were stationed in different parts of Paris. The month of August was consumed in debates about the *veto*, which at length was indirectly negatived by the decrees that were passed for the formation of the Constitution. The state of the Capital at this period, was most threatening. Parties ran excessively high; and on neither side was there either conciliation or moderation. But the greatest danger was to be apprehended from a numerous and powerful association, who regarded even those who had hitherto taken the lead against the King as lukewarm, and as stopping far short of what they ought to have achieved. This was called the *third party*, and was headed by the infamous Duke of Orleans. This party operated with wonderful and most mischievous effect on the populace.

The scarcity of provisions, which was undoubtedly in some degree, the effect of the monopoly which the Duke contrived to maintain in the corn trade, was attributed to the mismanagement of Government, and the Duke's agents were directed to inflame the populace, by insinuating, that it was in the King's power to alleviate their condition, and that he only wanted a disposition to do so.

About this time, a circumstance happened, which, though in itself of no consequence, was yet the cause of inflaming the populace still more. A regiment from Flanders arrived at Versailles; and the body guards of the King invited them, together with the national guards stationed there, to an entertainment. The entertainment was given in the opera-house belonging to the palace. In the course of the evening, the King and Queen had the curiosity to enter the hall, the Queen leading the young Dauphin, and attended by several ladies and gentlemen of the court. This unexpected visit to a party, whose hearts were warmed with wine could not fail to rouse a spirit of loyalty. The healths of the royal family were drank, with acclamations of joy, and as they retired, a loyal air was struck up, accompanied by the voices of the soldiers.

This occurrence gave rise to a report, which was soon circulated in Paris, that this entertainment was given by persons of the court, for the purpose of attaching the Flanders regiment and the national guards to the King. It was also said to the populace, that the court at Versailles, so far from pitying their starving condition, or attempting to alleviate it, were spending the public money, in splendid entertainments, and insulting their misery by indulging in wanton and expensive luxury.

On the 2nd of October, the National Assembly presented to the King certain articles of the constitution, on which they had agreed, for his acceptance. The King replied, that in due time he would make known his intentions concerning those articles. It was immediately said, that the marks of attachment and loyalty shown to the king at the entertainment, was the cause of this postponement, and that, in the meantime, he intended to effect his escape. This conduct of the King was so misrepresented at Paris, as to give great displeasure there, and the National Assembly were irritated at his reply.

In addition to these misrepresentations, the Duke of Orleans employed and paid men, whose business it was to harangue the populace in the streets, and to excite them to insurrection. There was in Paris, at that time, really a scarcity of bread, and in some parts of the city, poor families were in a suffering condition, but most probably, from the negligence of the committee appointed to distribute provisions among them. In this state of things, it was easy for the agents of insurrection to gather the mob, and excite them to open violence.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 5th of October, a great number of men and women assembled in the square of the Hotel de Ville, and insisted on going into the Town House, to remonstrate with the committee who were appointed to supply them with bread. To the clamours of the mob, the committee replied, that they were using all possible means to procure them bread, but they had met with difficulties, which they did not expect. A cry was immediately heard, that these difficulties originated at Court, and that they would go to Versailles, and demand redress of the King. This proposal met with universal approbation, and a man named Maillard was appointed to lead them. The National Guards declared they would not fire upon poor people, who only demanded bread, and this motley group was permitted to proceed. Maillard led them to the Elysian Fields, where they mustered nearly five thousand persons, of whom four-fifths were women, or dressed in women's clothes. Having previously broken open a magazine, a part of them were armed with muskets, others had swords, pikes, pruning hooks, scythes, &c. They stopped as many coaches as were necessary to furnish horses for drawing several pieces of artillery, a *poissarde*, or fisher-woman being mounted on each horse.

La Fayette has been censured for not having dispersed this band of insurgents, and prevented their march to Versailles. But it was well known, that the spirit of revolt had pervaded the National Guards themselves, and that they refused to obey the commands of the General. When a fermentation was excited sometime before this, by a seditious person, named St. Huruge, who proposed this very measure, that the King and National Assembly should remove to Paris, it was owing to the spirited behaviour of La Fayette, that the mob which this man had collected, was dispersed, and St. Huruge himself, sent to prison; and there can be no doubt, that the present insurrection would have had a similar termination, had the Guards been equally obedient to his commands.* Besides, the ill terms on which La Fayette was with the Duke of Orleans, is sufficient of itself, to clear him of this accusation. No two men were less likely to be intimate with each other. La Fayette is described by those who have known him long and intimately, as indefatigable in the pursuit of renown, disinterested, brave and generous;—qualities never attributed to the Duke of Orleans.†

The National Guards assembled before the Town House were so determined on this expedition to Versailles, and so irritated by La Fayette's persevering endeavours to dissuade them, that a large body of them declared they would have him for their commander no longer, and actually proposed to M. Dogni, to accept the chief command, and lead them to Versailles. He however, refused. Seeing that at all events, they were decided on going, La Fayette at length decided, that if the Municipality of Paris would give him an order for that purpose, he would lead the National Guards to Versailles, and communicate to the King the distresses of the capital, and the grievances of which they complained. Having obtained an order, he marched with 20,000 men for Versailles, four or five hours after the motley band above described.

After Maillard and his tumultuous mob had arrived, a detachment of the most furious Poissardes marched directly to the hall of the National Assembly, and were on the point of forcing the guards, when they were prudently admitted. The burthen of their clamour was, that there was a scarcity of bread at Paris, and that they had come to remonstrate with the Assembly, for not taking means to send them a supply. The President declared, in reply, that they were just going to deliberate on the speediest means of furnishing a supply, and added, that the *ladies* had liberty to withdraw. They however, insisted, that a deputation of their number should accompany the President of the Assembly to the King. It was agreed, that six should go, but afterwards the ladies insisted, that twelve should be the number, and accordingly, the President was introduced into the hall of his Majesty with this deputation. Here they acquainted the King in person of their miserable condition, for want of provisions, and his Majesty made such a reply as charmed the poor Poissardes; and they went away satisfied. Their constituents however, declared, that they had been corrupted by some of the Court, and made them return and obtain a writing from the King, that he had acceded to their demands. Accordingly, a paper signed by the royal hand was given them, with which all were satisfied.

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* Moore's French Revolution.

† Ib.

At evening, after the Assembly had adjourned, La Fayette arrived with the Parisian army. The deputies being warned of this, were immediately recalled to the Assembly, in great alarm at so unexpected a visit. This alarm was soon removed by La Fayette, who, having waited on the King, hastened to present himself before the Assembly, with every appearance of respect and submission. He lamented to M. Mounier, the President, the disorders and jealousies which had obliged him to march at the head of the National Guards to Versailles; expressing, at the same time, his hope and belief, that the circumstances which occasioned this extraordinary visit, might be easily understood, and settled without further difficulty. It was near midnight, when the Parisian Guards arrived at Versailles. The weather was cold, and it rained with violence. The soldiers took refuge in taverns, coffee-houses, under porticoes, wherever they could rest and find shelter. Refreshments were distributed to them; and an appearance of good humour inspired hopes that all danger of tumult was over, for that night at least.

When La Fayette perceived this, he returned to the palace, and gave such an account of this apparent tranquillity, that the King and Queen retired to rest. Having appointed his guards, and placed sentinels where he thought necessary, La Fayette again entered the National Assembly, and gave them the same assurances that he had given the royal family. Notwithstanding the President of the Assembly, after so distressing a sitting of eighteen hours, must have greatly needed repose, he replied to La Fayette, that if there was any fear of tumult during the night, he would persuade the Deputies to sit with him until morning, that they might unite their efforts to preserve peace.

La Fayette's reply was, that having already given the necessary directions, he was so convinced of the general pacific disposition, that he was himself intending to take a few hours rest.

Notwithstanding the uniform exertions of La Fayette, on all former occasions, as well as on this, to preserve peace, and prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, his enemies were base enough, on this occasion, to calumniate him, by reporting that he only affected to retire to rest, knowing that the palace was to be attacked.

Adolphus, in his memoirs of him, animadverts on La Fayette's conduct on this occasion, in the following terms:

"It is impossible to pass over these acts of La Fayette without animadversion. That he should leave the royal family at night, under the protection of those soldiers, who had shown so strong a propensity to mutiny in the morning, is surprising; but this may in some manner be accounted for, by allowing for his vanity, suggesting, that his personal influence had overcome their evil dispositions, and the confidence he placed in the renewed oath of loyalty which he induced them to take, as soon as they entered Versailles. His advising the adjournment of the Assembly was a great error, as it afforded the conspirators, in the Orleans interest, an opportunity of re-arranging their plans of sedition, and providing for the execution of them. But what defence can be made for him, the General of such an army, retiring quietly to rest on such a night. No appearance of tranquillity, no faith in oaths, is sufficient to apologize, or even account for it." "The reasons of this conduct are thus given," continues Adolphus, but he does not inform us who his author is, and leaves the reader to conclude that it was a friend, who had no better excuse for La Fayette than is here given. "The conspirators," says Adolphus, "had dispersed themselves, immediately after the rising of the Assembly, some amongst the soldiers and people, whom they inflamed by the most atrocious untruths against the royal family. Some went to the coffee-houses, whither the National Guard had retired, and performed the same task, plying them well with liquor. A third party formed a council with the Duke, where it was agreed to murder the King and Queen, La Fayette and D'Estaing, commandant of the National Guards at Versailles. This arrangement was communicated to those who were to put it in execution; but as these were many in number, and some of them intoxicated, La Fayette heard it mentioned, as he was going his rounds. Sensible that in such a crisis, he could do nothing to prevent the catastrophe intended, he went to the hotel of the Prince de Poix, aud pretended to retire to rest."*

Now, taking the whole of this statement into consideration, and comparing some parts of it with the others, would, it is thought, convince any candid person, that the account itself contains the elements of its own refutation.

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* See Adolphus' Memoirs, Vol. ii. p. 448.

Who, for instance, except the biographer who intended to destroy the character of his own hero, would have given so silly an excuse for conduct, which, Mr. Adolphus tells us, he could not pass over without animadversion? Is it to be credited, that any advocate for La Fayette, would have undertaken, had he been guilty, to defend him on such grounds? "Sensible that in such a crisis, he could do nothing to prevent the catastrophe intended, he went to the hotel, and pretended to retire to rest." He had just before, heard that he himself was to be murdered that night; and this circumstance was known to the person who framed the reasons for La Fayette's conduct, and makes a part of those reasons.

It then stands thus: La Fayette is accused of deserting his post, at a time when the lives of the King and Queen were in danger, but his accusers do not pretend that this danger was known to La Fayette. The circumstances of the night only shew that this was the case. An advocate comes forward and argues in explanation, and extenuation of this conduct, that La Fayette, in going his rounds, heard some of the soldiers say that the King, Queen, D'Estaing and himself, were to be sacrificed that night, and that he was convinced this was the truth. After receiving this horrid information, [this is the order of the narrative,] he goes immediately to their Majesties, and informs them, with great satisfaction, that every thing is quiet in the camp, that the royal family are in no possible danger from the soldiers, and that they had better retire to rest. He then goes to the National Assembly, and gives the Deputies the same quieting assurances, and as an argument that there was nothing to fear, informs them that such was his own conviction of safety, that he should himself retire to rest. La Fayette knew all this time that he was to be sacrificed, but at the same time saw no means of escaping, and therefore very prudently said nothing to the King and Queen of their approaching fate, nor took the least means to avoid his own.

Now had La Fayette been guilty of any misconduct on this occasion, it is certain that no author, except such an one as Mr. Adolphus himself, who turns every thing into abuse, would have invented such reasons as an excuse for him; and as Mr. Adolphus has been careful not to quote his authority for this defence, it is quite fair that he should take all the credit of the invention himself.

But no want of vigilance was at the time attributed to La Fayette. It was afterwards, when his enemies (and every honest man had enemies at that time,) wanted an occasion against him, that this circumstance was thought of, and brought forward by the Orleans party.

Madame de Stael was present at the Palace of Versailles at the time, and was therefore an eye and ear witness to all the dreadful circumstances which happened on that night and the following day, and we take the liberty of confronting Mr. Adolphus' account, with the following narrative from her French Revolution, vol. I. p. 204.—"While this mass (meaning the mob) was on its march towards us, we were informed of the arrival of M. La Fayette, at the head of the National Guards, and this was, no doubt, a ground of tranquillity. But he had long resisted the wish of the National Guard, and it was only by an express order from the *Commune* of Paris, that he had marched to prevent, by his presence, the misfortunes that were threatened. Night was coming on, and our dread was increased with the darkness, when we saw M. de Chinon, who, as Duke of Richelieu, has since acquired so justly a high reputation, enter the palace. He was pale, fatigued, and in his dress, like a man of the lower orders: it was the first time that such an apparel entered the royal abode, and that a nobleman of the rank of M. de Chinou, found himself obliged to put it on. He had walked part of the way from Paris to Versailles, mixed with the crowd, that he might hear their conversation; and he left them half way, to arrive in time to give notice to the royal family of what was going on. What a recital did he give! Women and children, armed with pikes, and scythes, hastened from all parts. The lowest of the populace were brutalized still more by intoxication than by rage. In the midst of this infernal band, there were two men who boasted of having got the name of "heads-men," (*coupel tetes*,) and who promised to make good their title to it. The National Guard marched with order, was obedient to its commander, and expressed no wish but that of bringing the King and Assembly to Paris. At last, M. de La Fayette entered the palace, and crossed the hall where we were, to go to the King. Every one surrounded him with ardour, as if he had been the master of events, while the popular party was already stronger than its leader; principles were now giving way to factions, or rather were used by them only as pretexts."

"M. de La Fayette," continues Madame de Stael, "seemed perfectly calm; has never been seen otherwise, but his delicacy suffered by the importance of the part he had to act; to ensure the safety of the palace, he desired to occupy the posts of the interior; the exterior posts only were given to him. This refusal was natural, as the body Guards ought not to be removed; but it had almost been the cause of the greatest misfortunes. M. de La Fayette left the palace, giving us the most tranquillizing assurances; we all went home after midnight, thinking that the crisis of the day was over, and believing ourselves in perfect security, as is almost always the case after one has experienced a great fright which has not been realized.

At five in the morning, M. de La Fayette thought that all danger was over, and relied on the Body Guards, who had answered for the interior of the palace. A passage which they (the Body Guards,) had forgotten to shut, enabled the assassins to get in. A similar accident proved favourable to two conspiracies in Russia, when outward circumstances were most tranquil. It is therefore absurd to censure M. de La Fayette for an event that was so unlikely to occur. No sooner was he apprized of it, than he rushed forward to the assistance of those who were threatened, with an ardour, which was acknowledged at the moment, before calumny had prepared her poison.

" On the 6th of October," says she, " a lady entered my room: She came in a panic to seek refuge among us, although we had never had the honour of seeing her. She informed me that the assassins had made their way even to the Queen's anti-chamber; that they had massacred several of her guards at the door, and that, awakened by their cries, the Queen had only saved her life by flying into the King's room by a private passage. I was told at the same moment, that my father had already set out for the palace, and that my mother was about to follow him; I made haste to accompany her."

" A long passage led from the *controle generale*, where we lived, to the palace. As we approached we heard musket shots in the courts, and as we crossed the gallery, we saw recent marks of blood on the floor. In the next hall the body guards were embracing the national guards, with that warmth which is always inspired by great emergencies; they were exchanging their distinctive marks, the national guards putting on the belts of the body guards, and the body guards the tri-coloured cockade. All were then exclaiming with transport, *Vive La Fayette!* because he had saved the lives of the body guards when threatened by the populace. We passed amidst these brave men, who had just seen their comrades perish, and were expecting the same fate. Their emotion, restrained though visible, drew tears from the eyes of the spectators."

The correctness of Madam de Stael's account cannot be doubted, but it was published long after Adolphus wrote his Memoirs, and therefore occasion might possibly be taken to conclude that this error was corected too late to have come to the knowledge of Adolphus. But to show that the last named author intended beyond all doubt, to give a false colouring to La Fayette's conduct on that occasion, it is only necessary to quote Dr. Moore's statement of the same transactions, and to inform the reader that Adolphus has quoted Dr. Moore repeatedly in his Memoir of La Fayette, and therefore must have been aware that his own animadversions gave an entirely different colouring from those of at least one respectable author. Nor is it in this instance only, that Adolphus has taken the liberty to differ from every other author, who lies under the eye of the writer, in respect to the transactions of La Fayette's life, or the motives of his conduct; and in nearly every instance where he has differed from others, he has not failed to display a malicious pleasure in attempting to hide the generous and noble traits of his character, under the sombre shade of his own vindictive and ignoble animadversions.—The writer can assign no other reason for the occasion of remarks, which might appear harsh to those who have never read Adolphus, than that the latter was probably a high ministerial partizan during our revolution, and had sworn never to forgive La Fayette for the part he took, and the honour he acquired in that struggle.

Our extract from Dr. Moore is as follows: Vol. 2. p. 17. "It has been asserted by M. de La Fayette's enemies, that he *eppected* to retire to rest, knowing that the palace was to be attacked; that he might not be thought to have any part in the horrid attempt which took place during his absence. But whatever blame he may be charged with for not taking more effectual means for guarding the palace, or for giving way to the desire of rest at such a period, the excessive fatigues both of mind and body which he had undergone, precludes the suspicion of affectation, and his conduct from the moment he was awakened, as well as his general behaviour and character through life, must satisfy the candid and impartial, that accusation is unjust, and that he had not the least notion when he retired that the castle would be attacked."

" Notwithstanding some scenes of confusion, which no activity could prevent, the manner in which he suppressed the great insurrection in the *Champ de Mars* on the 17th of the following July, and the state of tranquillity in which Paris was kept during the whole time that the Marquis de La Fayette had the command of the national guards, compared with the horrid scenes that were acted there after it was entrusted to others, afford reason to believe that it would have been fortunate for the royal family, and for France, that he had been continued in that command; in which case the insurrection of the 10th of August would not have happened, or if it had, the issue would prabably have been different, and the massacres in September would certainly have been prevented."

In this statement it will be remarked that Dr. Moore does not take into account the two all-important facts stated by Madam de Stael, viz. that La Fayette did not have command of the interior of the palace, that being entrusted to the body guards; and that a gate or entrance was kept unclosed, of which La Fayette could have known nothing, and which it was the particular duty of the body guards to have secured. At that place it was that the assassins found entrance. How then could La Fayette by responsible for this negligence, when it was absolutely without the boundary of his command? La Fayette retired to rest about three or four in the morning; and about six, different groups of the rabble, of both sexes, who had left Paris the preceding day, and had been spending the night in drinking, met near the palace. It was evident that La Fayette's orders were not well obeyed, as he had set his guards at all the avenues of the external courts, and it is probable that after the fatigues of the day, some of the parties fell asleep, or were intoxicated, otherwise the rabble could not have entered. But having found their way in, it was proposed by some of this united band of ruffians, to attack the body guards, who were few in number. This was no sooner proposed than executed. Without meeting with any resistance from the national militia of Versailles, those wretches rushed furiously across the courts, crying, "*Tuez les guardes-du-corps, point de quatier.*"* Two of the body guards were immediately killed, and others wounded, and driven within the palace. One party of these ruffians, with horrid threats and imprecations, attempted to force their way into the apartments of the Queen. The alarm being given to those persons who were in the inner chamber, that the Queen's life was in danger, the entrance of the ruffians was opposed by one of the body guards, until he fell, covered with wounds. Two wretches, dressed like fisher-women, then stepping over his body, rushed into the Queen's bed-chamber, but finding she had escaped, their rage was terrible. The terrified Queen, hearing the cries of death among her faithful guards near her room, and knowing her own life was sought for, had run half naked into the King's chamber. The King on the first alarm had hastened to the Queen's room by another passage, and some of the attendants, anxious for the life of the Dauphin, had run and brought him from the children's room. On the return of the King to his own room, he found the young Prince in the arms of his mother.

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* Kill the body guards, give no quarter.

General La Fayette, whose lodgings were at some distance from the palace, as soon as he was informed what was happening, started from his bed, mounted his horse, and having summoned a company of grenadiers, many of whom had belonged to the National Guards, conjured them to accompany him to the palace, and save the lives of the royal family from assassination, and the French name from everlasting infamy. They arrived, just as the ruffians were attempting to force the King's apartment.*

The first thought that occurred to the humane mind of the King, after finding his own family protected, was to save the body guards, who were pursued and searched for, with sanguinary fury by the assassins. The King recommended them, in the most earnest terms to La Fayette, and his grenadiers. Fifteen of the body guards, who had opposed the first entrance of the mob into the palace, having been surrounded and overpowered, were still in the hands of those savages, who were preparing to put them to death at the bottom of the grand stair-case. "Grenadiers," cried La Fayette to his soldiers, "you will not suffer those brave men to be assassinated in that cowardly manner." The grenadiers immediately interfered, and saved their lives. La Fayette, meantime endeavoured to soothe the populace, and prevent further outrages. But eight other gentlemen of the body guards, having been driven from the palace, were concealed in one room in the town. A party of the most profligate Paris mob, being informed where they were, seized them, and conducted them back to the palace, for the purpose of putting them to death, directly under the King's window. In this avowed design, they were not opposed by the militia of Versailles. One of the prisoners, an old officer, with grey hairs, addressing the multitude said, "Our lives are in your power; you may murder us; but that will abridge our lives but a short time; and we shall not die dishonoured."

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* Moore.

An officer of the Parisian national guards, struck with this short address, and the undaunted military looks of the prisoners, burst through the crowd, threw his arms about the venerable officer's neck, and cried, "No, we will not put to death brave men like you." Others then joined in this sentiment, and these soldiers were saved from the swords of the murderers.

So soon as these transactions were known to the National Assembly, the President proposed to remove to the grand saloon of the palace, where they might assist to protect the King. But Mirabeau* who, undoubtedly, was then of the Orleans faction, arose, and exclaimed, "It is unbecoming our dignity, it is even unwise for us, to desert our post, at a moment when real or imaginary dangers seem to threaten the public."

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* Count de Honore Gabriel Riquetti Mirabeau, one of the leaders in the French revolution, was born in 1749. After serving some time in the army, he espoused a rich heiress of Aix, but he soon squandered away the fortune he received with her, and plunged himself in debt. He was confined in different prisons, and on obtaining his liberty, eloped to Holland with the daughter of the president of the Parliament of Besancon. For this, he was afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes, and remained there a considerable time. In 1780, he regained his liberty, and his first act was to reclaim his first wife, who refused to live with him. He had the audacity to plead his cause before the parliament of Aix, but without success. The French Revolution offered Mirabeau an ample element for his activity. Imbibing the delusive doctrine of equality, he opened a shop, over the door of which was inscribed, Mirabeau, dealer in drapery. He was elected deputy of the third estate of Aix, and the courtiers termed him the Plebeian Count. In the National Assembly, he displayed great powers as an orator, but was extremely violent and vindictive. He died in the midst of his political career, as it is supposed, of poison, 1794, and his obsequies were celebrated with great pomp.—*Watkins' Biog. Dic.*

At this time, Mirabeau knew that several of the guards had been murdered, and that the King was considered in danger of falling into the hands of the mob. This cool and unshaken effrontery, and this resolution not to assist the royal family, probably arose from the connexion Mirabeau had with the insurrection, and his wish that the mob might prevail.

The King's mind was greatly affected with the death of the guards, who had fallen in defence of his family; and notwithstanding all the assurances of La Fayette, while he walked through his palace, accompanied and protected by the General, he was making continual inquiries concerning the body guards; and his anxiety was such, that he appeared at the balcony, and assured the crowd below, that the guards were unjustly accused, and interceded in their behalf.

Some of the populace calling out for the Queen, she appeared at the balcony, with the Dauphin, and the Princess royal with her. Instead of being softened, by seeing the mother, with her infants by her side, some of the barbarians cried out, "away with the children;" plainly indicating, that they intended to fire on the Queen, when the children were removed. The Queen, however, obeyed, and sent the children away, and then, turning to the multitude, she stood alone, upright and undaunted. This mark of confidence seemed to disarm them, and the most barbarous joined in a general shout of applause, in the midst of which the Queen retired.

Soon after the Queen had disappeared, the leaders of the multitude resumed the great object of their expedition to Versailles. Voices were heard, exclaiming "*Le Roi a Paris.*"* The voices multiplied every moment; and at last, nothing was heard, but a Paris! a Paris!

The King had no choice left. It would not have been in the power of La Fayette himself, to have saved the lives of the royal family, had he refused. He declared his intention, therefore, of going that very day to Paris, with his family; and his intention being notified to the crowd, by notes and cards thrown from the windows of the palace, were received by the populace with acclamations.

As soon as it was announced in the National Assembly, that the King had determined to go to Paris, a decree was passed, that the Assembly should also remove there. A deputation of one hundred members from that body, was appointed to accompany his Majesty to the capital. In answer to the decree which the deputation sent him, the King replied, as though they had been the most loyal subjects;—"That he had the most lively sense of this fresh testimony of the Assembly's attachment; and that the most earnest wish of his heart was, that he might never be separated from it."

The mob which surrounded the palace began to manifest uneasiness at the delay of the royal family's journey. The preparations were therefore hastened, and they set out from Versailles about one o'clock, which was announced by a volley of musquetry from the troops. A company of one hundred Swiss guards surrounded the king's coach, and a troop of dragoons preceded, and another followed it. The national guards, commanded by La Fayette, had begun their march a little before. Various bands of fisherwomen were intermingled with all the different corps. Some were seated in waggons ornamented with green boughs, and white, red and blue ribbons,—some astride on the cannon, and many on horseback, generally two on the same horse, some of them wearing the hats of the body guards on their heads, which they had taken at the palace. Some wore belts across their shoulders, and carried sabres in their hands. Now and then they would rend the air with their savage shouts, or the chorusses of their vile songs.

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* "The King to Paris."

In the middle of a band of these sanguinary hags, two men, with arms naked and bloody, carried pikes, on the points of which were the two heads which they had severed from the body guards they had murdered in the palace. A horrible spectacle, and a sickening prelude to the more than savage barbarities which were afterwards committed all over the kingdom.

Now and then the procession was made to halt, for the purpose of firing fresh vollies, and that the soldiers and poissardes might be refreshed with wine. On these occasions, the poissardes joined hands and danced around the bloody heads which were fixed on the pikes. What rendered this scene completely horrid, was the presence of the body guards who had been saved by the grenadiers, and were now marched in triumph, and disarmed, in sight of the heads of their murdered companions.

About seven in the evening, this dreadful army arrived at Paris. The city was illuminated, and the King was received with shouts and acclamations, which he was informed proceeded entirely from the overflowing loyalty of his good subjects. As the procession moved to the Hotelle de Ville, the people exclaimed *vive le Roi*, from all quarters. On entering the town house, where a throne had been erected by his dutiful subjects, a loyal speech was pronounced by one of the presidents of the common council. But it is most probable that the unfortunate King was well aware how much reliance he could place on these demonstrations of loyalty, and it must have been a sad and most humiliating reflection to him, that all this show of respect and esteem, was nothing but a display of national hypocrisy.

The Duke of Orleans, as head of the third party, began to have great influence with the populace. La Fayette saw this, and determined to rid the country of a character so influential and yet so odious, in the estimation of every man of principle. In effecting this design, La Fayette took advantage of the following circumstance:

Some time previous to the King's leaving Versailles, a secret committee, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, La Clos, the Abbe Sieyes, and La Touche Treville, met near Paris, and agreed on a scheme for placing Orleans in such a situation in the government, that by the assistance of his fortune, he, with his associates, would have complete command of the mob of Paris, and a decisive weight in the National Assembly. At the time when the mob assailed Versailles, and there were signs of considerable defection among the guards; the King and court, as we have already seen, were in a state of great danger and alarm. Mirabeau, as prompter to the Duke, told him that this was the exact state of things, in which the King could not refuse him any demand he might make, and therefore persuaded him to go directly to his Majesty, demand an audience; offer his services for the restoration of the public tranquillity, and at the same time request that he, Orleans, might be appointed *Lieutenant General of the kingdom.*

When Orleans* entered the palace to demand his audience, he found that every thing there was in a state of the utmost confusion. The ladies of the court were crossing the apartments in tears, and recommending themselves to the officers of the guard for protection. The officers were hurrying from one part of the palace to the other, in great agitation, and the cabinet council was sitting, without being able to decide what measures to pursue. Although hardened in cruelty and blood, Orleans could not but be affected at the sight of such distress, particularly when he knew that

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* Philip Louis Joseph, Duke of Orleans, was born at St. Cloud, 13th April, 1747, and had the title of Duke de Chartres during his father's life. From his earliest years he devoted himself to low pleasures, but with the desire to acquire consideration in the fleet, he entered in the navy, and he obtained the command of the St. Esprit, of 84 guns, in 1778, under the orders of admiral Orvilliers. The sight of the

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English fleet, it is said, terrified the cowardly prince, and during the action, which was fought off Ushant with admiral Keppel, it is reported that he concealed himself in the hold of the ship till the danger was over. This conduct was ridiculed not only by the wits of Paris, but by the court, and the duke felt the severity of the satire so deeply that he determined on revenge. His immense fortune gave him every opportunity to raise disturbances and create dissatisfaction, and he followed the iniquitous propensities of his heart. In 1787 he succeeded to his father's title, and soon after, the revolution afforded him occasions to gratify his revenge against the court. Though exiled and threatened, he maintained his rancorous opposition; he became one of the members of the national assembly, and as if ashamed of his family and of his birth, he took the name of Egalite. While the factious and the vile used his great opulence, and his powerful influence for their own vicious and diabolical purposes, he was satisfied if every measure tended to dishonour the monarch, and to overturn the throne, on which he hoped to seat himself. At the trial of Lewis XVI. he gave his vote with the greatest indifference for the death of the king, a conduct which shocked even the most abandoned jacobins; but soon his own fate was determined by those who had squandered his riches, and abused his confidence. He was accused, and though he escaped to Marseilles, he was seized and brought back to Paris, and led ignominiously to the scaffold, 6th Nov. 1793. He suffered death with more courage than could be expected from a man whose character and morals were so infamous.—*Lempriere's Biog.*

he had been indirectly the cause of it, by stirring up the mob at Paris. When he went before the King to make his request, conscious of his own guilt, and the injuries he meditated against the person he addressed, if this request was granted, he appeared confused; his tongue faultered; and when the King demanded his business, he had not the hardihood to make his request. But as it was absolutely necessary for him to say something, he asked of his Majesty permission to retire to England, in case the present disturbances should increase.

La Fayette for some time had observed that the national guards were not so ready and cheerful in their obedience as formerly. On some occasions they had even manifested a tendency to mutiny, and the Duke of Orleans was strongly suspected of being the author of this change, as well as the excesses of the rabble. La Fayette, knowing that the Duke had got liberty to retire to England, waited on him and abruptly informed him that "it afforded matter of surprize that he had not gone to England, as he had sometime before told the King was his intention; that the public tranquillity did not admit his remaining longer in France; that a passport was prepared for him; and that the pretext for his journey might, if he pleased, be a private commission from his Majesty." Although the Duke had probably dropped all thoughts of this journey, this address from La Fayette made him determine to set out immediately. It is most probable that the manner in which it was delivered gave the Duke some suspicion that the circumstances under which this permission had been asked, might make it most expedient for him to take his departure. When it was announced to the National Assembly that the Duke of Orleans had obtained permission of the King to retire to England, and that he only waited for a passport from the Assembly, it occasioned great surprise. Mirabeau, who had expressed the utmost indignation at the cowardice of Orleans when before the King, and who knew what effect the address of La Fayette was about to have on him, hinted before the Assembly at the imperious conduct of the Marquis, and the submission of the Duke, in terms by no means honourable to the latter.

The National Assembly were received by the inhabitants of Paris, with demonstrations of joy. On the day of their first sitting, they were waited on by M. Bailly,* the Mayor, and La Fayette, at the head of a deputation from the municipality, with the congratulations of the city; and in return, these two gentlemen were honoured by a vote of thanks from the Assembly for the important services they had rendered the country during its troubles.

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* John Sylvain Bailly, a famous astronomer, born at Paris, 15th September, 1736. He was carefully and tenderly educated by his friends, and his mind was stored with the treasures of science, though without the labours of classical instruction. At the age of sixteen, he wrote two tragedies; in one of which, Clotaire, he painted in vivid colours the sufferings and the death of a mayor of Paris by an infuriate populace; dreadful prognostic of the miseries which awaited him. Dramatic compositions, however, were not calculated to display the powers of his genius. The accidental friendship of the abbe de la Caille directed him in the pursuit of science; and, in 1763, he introduced to the academy his observations on the moon, and the next year his treatise on the zodiacal stars. In 1766, he published his essay on the sattellites of Jupiter, and in other treatises enlarged further on the important subject. In 1775, the first volume of his history of ancient and modern astronomy appeared, and the third and last in 1779; and, in 1787, that of Indian and oriental astronomy, in 3 vols. 4to. He was drawn from his literary retirement to public view as a deputy to the first national assembly; and such was his popularity, that he was, on July 14th, 1789, nominated mayor of Paris. In this dangerous office, he conducted himself in a very becoming manner, eager to check violence, and to enforce respect for the laws; but his impartiality was considered soon as a crime; and when he spoke with reverence of the royal family, on the trial of the queen, he was regarded as unfit to preside over the destinies of a rebellious city. He descended, in 1791, from his elevation, and retired to Melun, determined to devote the

Such symptoms of harmony and good humour did not continue long. There was a real scarcity of provisions in the city; but the poor supposed, probably in consequence of the harangues of those who wished to destroy the King, that there was a scheme laid for starving them. It was also spread abroad that a plot had been laid to poison the people with unwholesome provisions, and it was hinted that the count was connected with this conspiracy. Individuals were accused of attempting to monopolize the trade in corn, and thus to starve the poor. An affecting instance of the fate which awaited any person who was accused of any such crime before the mob, occurred in the case of an honest and innocent man taken in Paris:

"A woman, instigated by personal malice, accused this man of being a monopolist, and prompted the mob to break into his house and search for bread. A few loaves were found, which were designed for his own family, and a greater number of little loaves bespoke by some members of the National Assembly, near which his bakehouse was.—This appeared to the rabble a full proof of the woman's accusation. He was dragged before the committee sitting at the Hotel de Ville, who were soon convinced of his innocence, from

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rest of his life to literature and science; but the sanguinary tribunal of Robespierre, who knew his merit, and would not protect it, dragged him to execution. He lost his head by the guillotine, 12th November 1793, exhibiting, in death, heroism, resignation, and dignity. Besides his great works, he wrote the eulogies of Leibnitz, Charles V. la Caille, Corneille, two "rapports," and left among his papers memoirs of the revolution, and a work on the origin of fables, and of ancient religions.—*Lempriere's Biog.*

the answers he made to his accusers, and from the excellent character given him by those of his neighbours, who followed him to the committee; but, fearing to declare their real sentiments, they deputed three of their own members to inform the multitude, that the baker was to be carried before the proper tribunal, to be tried according to law. So far from being satisfied with this, the rabble threatened to hang the deputies if the baker was not immediately delivered up to them. The committee, as the last means of saving the poor baker, proposed to interrogate the witnesses immediately, in the great hall, and in the hearing of the populace; but when the unhappy man was conducted to the hall, he was torn from the guards, murdered in the square of the Greve, and his head, fixed on a pike, was met by his young wife, three months advanced in her pregnancy, who was rushing through the crowd to lend her feeble aid to her husband."*

A murder so atrocious, under the eye of the Assembly and Court, was calculated to alarm the deputies, and to render it doubtful whether the decree they had passed, rendering their own persons inviolable, was sufficient to protect them against the rabble, if any of their body should happen to be singled out as a victim.

It was therefore proposed in the Assembly that the magistrates should be authorized, on appearance of a riot, to call the assistance of the military, and to raise a red flag from the town house, as a signal for all assemblies of the populace to disperse; and in case they refused, to order the military to fire on them.

To the passage of such a decree, Robespierre, who was a deputy in the Assembly, had special objections. "He confessed he had cordial affections for the good people of Paris. They were, he thought, seldom in the wrong; always meant to do well, and could not be justly punished for the errors they might commit when pinched with hunger. How venial, said he, were their errors when compared with the guilt of those who obstructed provisions and created an artificial famine."

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* Moore's Revolution.

This speech flew from the galleries all over the city, and Robespierre* was the friend of the poor, and the advocate of humanity and justice. It laid the foundation of his popularity, which finally gave him power to destroy the lives of thousands of his fellow beings.

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* Maximilian Isodore Robespierre, a sanguinary demagogue during the French Revolution. He was born at Arras, of poor parents, 1759, and was educated at the expense of the Bishop of the diocese. After studying at Paris, he applied himself to the law, and in 1784, obtained the prize of the academy of Metz, by his discourse on the disgrace which attends the relations of criminals. At the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, he obtained a seat, and began now to distinguish himself more by the originality of his observations, than his eloquence. Though not visibly engaged in the atrocious scenes of the 20th of June, of the 10th August, and of September, he was anxious to reap the fruit of those bloody transanctions, and when admitted into the Convention, he artfully employed his influence, and the darkest intrigues, to render his opponents unpopular, and to lead them to the scaffold. With the criminal wish of being declared dictator, he hastened the destruction of the unfortunate Louis, and persecuted his innocent family, and after making Danton, Herbert, and others, the guilty ministers of his atrocious deeds, he prevailed upon the intimidated Convention to send them to the guillotine. France was now filled with denunciations ; in every province, and in every town, tribunals were erected, which condemned alike the innocent and the guilty, and no man could with safety, intrust his secrets or his life in the hands of his parent, his neighbour or his friend. Suspicious, timid and irresolute, the tyrant had yet sufficient art to interpret the machinations formed against his power, as treason against the republic, and to sacrifice his personal enemies and his public rivals, as the most abandoned and perfidious citizens of France. Proscription thus followed proscription, and every day the streets of Paris exhibited the melancholy procession of wretched victims dragged to the scaffold, on the accusation of persons whom they had never known, and for crimes which

Robespierre's eloquence, did not, however, prevent the National Assembly from passing the decree, which

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they never had meditated. If he had known how to spare, Robespierre might have longer continued to direct the government of France ; but his cowardly conduct in sacrificing those who were ready to be his associates and ministers in the vilest deeds, at last roused the courage of a few, who suspected that they were next marked for destruction. The tyrant and his two accomplices, Couthon, and St. Just, were suddenly impeached in the Convention, and "down with the tyrant !" were the only exclamations which were heard on all sides, when these bloody assassins attempted to ascend the tribune to defend themselves. In vain the commune of Paris took up arms against the Convention, to protect its accused leaders ; Robespierre was conducted as a criminal, fearful and suppliant, and no longer haughty and ferocious, to the Hotel-de-Ville, where a gen-d'arme discovering him in the midst of the uproar and confusion, concealed in an obscure corner, fired a pistol at him, and broke to pieces his lower jaw. Extended on a table, in the severest agonies, yet without uttering a groan, the tyrant viewed in silence the preparations made for his punishment. On the morrow, 28th July, 1794, at four in the evening, he was carried with twenty-two of his accomplices, amidst the groans, the hisses, and the rejoicings of the populace, to that scaffold where he had made to bleed, so many thousand innocent victims.

Such was the influence of this sanguinary monster, that France forgot her religion and her honour at his command ; but after he had seen the altars insulted, the churches thrown down, and public worship abolished, he claimed the merit of restoring to the Supreme Being some share in the government of the universe, and he appeared in the name of the Convention as the priest and founder of a new religion, and decreed with great solemnity that a God existed in the world.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dictionary.*

for some time had the effect to produce order and quietness in the city. The National Assembly, taking the advantage of the peaceful condition of the capital, applied to the business of the state with great assiduity. They abolished the *lettres de cachet*, suppressed the tax on salt, so oppressive to the poor, and lessened the burdens of the lower orders, in many other particulars. They also, through the influence of La Fayette, passed a decree, that all persons, whether professing the Catholic religion or not, should be equally eligible to any office or employment.

They also passed several decrees, which were undoubtedly exceedingly severe and unjust, and among these, none was more so, than that which took from the clergy their property, and applied it to the exigencies of the state. By another decree, this Assembly suppressed all monastic establishments, and by another, they abolished all titles of Nobility, and all distinction of orders.

The Bishop of Autun, better known under the name of Talleyrand, and some others, who were in possession of high ecclesiastical appointments, and had the highest in expectation, supported the measure of appropriating the church lands to the exigencies of the state. Undoubtedly Talleyrand's popularity among the lower orders arose from this circumstance.

Soon after the royal family had removed to Paris, a book was brought into notice, which excited great and universal attention. It was called the Red Book, and contained a register of all the pensions and donations, together with the whole expenditure of the court of France, for the last twenty years. A committee had been appointed by the Assembly, to make inquiry into the expenditure of the court. The committee heard of this Red Book, and required of M. Neckar,* the minister of finance, that it should be communicated to them, as an assistant in making out their report to the Assembly. The King expressed his reluctance at this; probably because he was averse to having the public know the extent of his grand-father's profusion. There were articles of a later date too, which he might think it imprudent to expose to the public eye at that time. To remove these difficulties, Camus, the President of the committee, wrote to M. Neckar, that there was no intention on their part of divulging circumstances which would give uneasiness to the King, that they should certainly conduct themselves with delicacy towards him, but that it was necessary that some one of the committee should make extracts from the book in question, that their report

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* James Neckar, a native of Geneva, known as a financier. He was at first, member of the council of 200 at Ge-

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neva, and then went as Ambassador from the republic to France, where, in 1765, he obtained the office of syndic to the East India Company, and in 1775, was made director of the royal treasury. His abilities were so highly respected, that he was, though a foreigner, twice elevated to the rank of prime minister of France; but the Revolution, to which, as some imagine, his financial schemes had imperceptibly contributed, destroyed his popularity, and he yielded to the storm, and retired to Switzerland, where he died at Copet, 1804, aged 72. His wife was the daughter of a Protestant divine, and rendered herself known, not only by her writings, but by the amiable virtues of her character. When her husband was raised to the highest offices of France, she did not assume the manners of supercilious pride, but continued the friend of the learned, and the protectress of the poor, whose necessities she relieved with a liberal hand. Among her illustrious friends were Thomas and Buffon. She followed her husband's disgrace to Copet, where she died, 1795. Her daughter, by M. Neckar, married the Baron de Stael Holstein, the Swedish Ambassador at the court of France; and she has acquired some celebrity not only by the intrigues which she carried on during the Revolution, but by 'Delphine,' a romance, full of indecent and irreligious sentiments.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

might appear correct before the Assembly. Under the pledge of such promises, the King entrusted them with the book. But what was the surprise of Neckar, two or three days afterwards, to find that this Camus had permitted the whole book to be published, without consulting either the King or Assembly.

Many articles of expenditure, registered in the Red Book, were calculated to excite clamour against the King and court. Camus and Neckar had a falling out in consequence of this conduct, and although the latter was at that time exceedingly popular, his popularity began to decline from that moment.

" With a view to make a deep and lasting impression on the public mind, and to connect the Revolution with agreeable, magnificent, and religious sentiments, a great public ceremony had been in preparation for a considerable time. On this occasion the King, the National assembly, and the people, were to take an oath to maintain the Constitution, as newly revised, and to defend the cause of liberty.

" Another reason for this ceremony was, that those provinces which had enjoyed peculiar privileges, were supposed to be irritated at their being deprived of them by the new constitution, and were in hopes of having them restored, provided the new division of France into departments, could be destroyed, It was therefore thought, that so important and solemn a ceremony, being performed in each department, would mark the division forcibly in the minds of the people.

" The bastile had been taken on the 14th of July, 1789, and the 14th day of the same month, 1790, as being the anniversary of that era, was fixed upon as the day of the ceremony, and the extensive plain of the Champ de Mars, for the place in which the ceremony was to be celebrated."*

Expectation was wound up to so high a pitch, that numbers came, not only from the distant provinces of France, but from nearly all parts of Europe, to witness the ceremony. Among others the Duke of Orleans, to whom such a spectacle was a matter of the highest interest, gave notice to the King of his intention to return, and be present at the scene. He also wrote to the National Assembly, to give the same notice, adding, that should they think proper to deliberate on the subject, he should consider that as a permission to return. When the letter was read, the Assembly threw their eyes on La Fayette, to ascertain his feelings; but although he had taken private means to prevent the Duke's return, well knowing the plots in which he was engaged, he did not think proper to oppose it before the Assembly. The Duke therefore returned. The formation of the Amphitheatre for the Confederation being a work of immense labour, the Parisians began to be afraid that a month was not sufficient time for its completion. To prevent such a misfortune, some of the most zealous citizens offered their gratuitous labour to accelerate the work. The applause they met with from the citizens, excited others to follow their example, and in a short time the same desire glowed in almost every breast, of whatever sex or age. The consequence was, that the Champ de Mars was filled with gentlemen, and even ladies, of the first rank. All amusements were neglected for those of wielding the spade and the pick axe, and the most dissipated city in the world became the most laborious.*"

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* Moore's Revolution.

" Every district and corporation marshalled the volunteers belonging to them under their respective banners, and marched them daily to the field of labour. Various clubs, societies, and associations, in fancy dresses suitable to the work they were to perform, went also in procession, preceded by musicians. Individuals in all situations in life, and of all religions, Jews as well as christians, soldiers and priests, sailors and monks, judges and dancing masters, bankers and beggars, poets and advocates, painters, actors, and tradesmen of every kind, were seen working cordially together.*"

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* Moore's Revolution.

Young women of every denomination and condition were daily seen tripping to the field with their gowns tucked. and belts of the national ribbon around their waists. There the lover wrought by the side of his mistress, enlivened by her smiles, and encouraged by the tune *Ca Ira.*†

" The temple where the ceremony was to be performed, was erected in the middle of the Champ de Mars. In a large circle on this spot, twelve posts, between fifty and sixty feet high, were placed at equal distances, except in front, where a large space was left between them by way of entrance. On each alternate post was fastened ivy, laurel, &c. so as to form a thick body, which entirely covered up the post. These greens were then shorn into the form of Doric columns, of dimensions proportioned to their height. The intervening posts were covered with white cloth, which was so artificially folded, as exactly to resemble fluted pillars; from the bases of which ascended spiral wreaths of flowers. The whole was connected at the top by a bold festoon of foliage, and the capital of each column was surmounted at top by a vase of white lilies. In the middle of this temple was placed an altar hung round with lilies, and on this was placed the book of the Constitution. The ascent to the altar was by a large flight of steps, covered with beautiful tapestry.‡"

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* Moore's Revolution.

† A national air so called.

‡ Residence in France.

At a short distance from the altar was erected a throne for the King, and a magnificent pavillion for the Queen and royal family. Triumphal arches were also prepared, through which the various processions were to pass.

Every thing having been arranged and decorated, the important era was ushered in by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and a show of bustle and parade throughout the whole city.

At day-break the citizens began to assemble at the ampitheatre, which was capable of containing more than three hundred thousand spectators.

About 10 o'clock the grand procession was formed. It consisted of a band of music; a body of the national guards, led by Gen. La Fayette, and was followed by the electors of the city of Paris; the principal members of the municipality; the deputies of the National Assembly; the deputies from the different departments; a deputation from the army and navy, headed by the two marshals of France. A body of national guards closed the procession.

The banners, or colours of each corps, reserving one stand only, to distinguish them in the ranks, were planted around the altar.

The different bodies which formed the procession, had particular places assigned them. Two hundred priests, dressed in garments of white linen, bound with the national coloured ribbons, stood on the steps of the altar. At the head of these, stood the celebrated Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, who had been appointed to administer the oath of confederation.

The King had been appointed for that day only, supreme and absolute commander of all the national guards of France. He named La Fayette as his delegate to perform the duties of the day: so that La Fayette was for this day not only commander of the national guards of Paris, but High Constable of all the armed men in the kingdom, which probably was a greater number than any kingdom ever contained before.*

The ceremony begun by the celebration of mass, at which the Bishop of Autun officiated.

La Fayette, as the representative of the military force of the nation, first took the oath. When he left the foot of the throne and moved towards the altar, the trumpets began to sound; and a vast band of martial music continued to play until he ascended the steps of the altar. In view of the vast multitude which filled this immense circus, he laid the point of his sword upon the Bible, which was on the table of the altar, and raising his other hand towards the sky, the music ceased, and a universal stillness prevailed, while he pronounced: "We swear to be forever faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King; to maintain to the utmost of our power, the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the King." As soon as he had finished, the trumpets began again to sound, but were drowned by the acclamation, *Vive la Nation.*

All the members of the National Assembly then standing up, the president pronounced the oath in his own name, and each deputy repeated aloud after the president, "I swear." Here again the trumpets sounded, and the people cried *Vive la Nation.*

In like manner all the distinct bodies took the oath, each individual of which pronounced, after his representative, "I swear."

Lastly the King himself arose to take the oath; on which a body of the national guards pressed near the throne, which they surrounded with raised arms, while he, stretching his hand towards the altar, repeated: "I, King of the French, swear to employ all the power that is consigned to me by the Constitutional law of the State, in maintaining the Constitution, which has been decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by me; and I swear to put the laws in execution."

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* Moore.

A signal being given that the King had taken the oath, the air resounded with alternate peals of artillery, and shouts of the people, and thus ended, says Dr. Moore, a ceremony which, notwithstanding the good intentions of many who took the oath, has been considered as the greatest and most extensive act of perjury that Heaven and Earth ever witnessed.

The new Constitution, although solemnly sworn to by the officers of the army, was not well received among them. The officers of the national guards, as a new corps, were not considered by those of the standing army as their equals; hence quarrels arose between them, and frequent duels was the consequence. Other causes, arising out of the new order of things, served to raise a spirit of discontent in the various divisions of the army in different parts of the kingdom.

At Nantz, the capital of Lorrain, where a number of regiments were stationed, the soldiers made a demand of pay which was not due them, and on the refusal of the officers to comply with their demands, they broke out into open mutiny and seized the military chest. On this being known at Paris, the National Assembly passed a decree, ordering the Marquis de Bouille to march with a proper force to suppress the insurgents. On his arrival there, he found that the garrison had resolved to resist him, and after remonstrance and persuasion to induce them to submit, he brought his army in front of the garrison, and threatened to reduce the mutineers by force. The mutineers having a cannon loaded with grape shot, aimed it at Bouilles' army and fired. Three officers and a considerable number of soldiers fell. Others, however, advanced, and forcing the gate, entered the town. An awful scene of carnage was commenced. Most of Bouille's men who first entered were killed from the windows of the houses. The insurgents were, however, driven from house to house and from street to street, until three hundred of them were killed. Four hundred were made prisoners with arms in their hands, and the others laid down their weapons and submitted to the orders of Bouille.

The news of these transactions at Paris occasioned great clamour and rage among the populace, who loudly exclaimed against Bouille for having shed so much blood. The Assembly, however, passed a vote of thanks to him and his men, for having so promptly done their duty ; but this had no effect, the rabble assembled in vast numbers around the national hall, and demanded his head.

This spirit of sedition seemed to augment every moment, and would probably have produced dreadful effects, had it not been for the determined and judicious conduct of La Fayette and the guards he commanded.

About this time M. Neckar, the minister of finance, finding himself every day losing popularity, and being alarmed for his personal safety, sent a letter of resignation to the Assembly. He had lent government two millions of livres, and on his leaving Paris he declared that he left that sum, together with his hotel and furniture, as pledges for the faithfulness of his administration. But before he could make his way out of the kingdom, he with his family were stopped, insulted, taken, and guarded as state prisoners. Thus was the man, who a few months before was adored by the whole nation, forced to submit to the rabble, and this too, not because he had committed a crime, but because he had lost his popularity. With much difficulty he, however, obtained his release and left the kingdom.

Meantime, difficulties arose with the clergy. It had been enacted under the new constitution, that every beneficed clergyman should take the oath to be faithful to the nation, the law and the king. Many of the clergy refused to take the oath. Whereupon the Assembly passed a decree, that such of the clergy as refused to take the oath should be ejected from their benefices, and suffer other penalties. The opinion of the Pope of Rome on the question, whether the clergy ought to take the oath, was decidedly against it. This determined many of the clergy to refuse it, who had before been on suspense. The Assembly, however, were strenuous in the enforcement of their decree. The consequence was, that out of one hundred and thirty-one bishops, only two or three were prevailed on to conform to the decree and save their benefices. All the rest were ejected from their bishopricks.

So striking an act of severity against a body of men of so much importance, might have been dreaded by any government; but particularly by that of France, in the unsettled state in which it then was.

At this time the state of public feeling had become so exceedingly irritable, and the jealousies of the lower orders so vigilant, that circumstances which, in a different condition of things, would not have been noticed at all, now became the causes of the most violent popular tumult. As an instance, the King had two maiden aunts, now considerably advanced in years, who resided with him in Paris. These ladies had long wished to avoid the scenes of licentiousness which they were obliged more or less to witness at court, and to withdraw from the popular tumult which surrounded them at that time in Paris. They both entertained strong sentiments of devotion, and were excessively shocked at the cruelty with which the ministers of religion had been treated by the Assembly. They therefore determined on leaving France, and obtained the King's permission to retire to Rome, where, under the protection of the Pope, they might practise the duties, and enjoys the consolations of their religion in peace.

No sooner was their desertion known, than it excited the greatest commotion. A rumour was spread, that the King's brother, and his Princess intended to follow his aunts. A vast multitude therefore gathered at the palace of Luxemburg, to prevent his departure. But on his assuring them that he had no intention to leave Paris, they retired. Meantime the Maiden ladies were twice arrested on their journey; and the last time detained until a deputation was sent to the National Assembly. Here the matter was discussed with warmth for several hours, when it was finally decreed, that the old ladies might leave the kingdom.

At this time a rumour prevailed, without the least foundation, that the castle of Vincennes was intended to replace the Bastile, and that arms and ammunition had been secretly conveyed there. Whether the idea originated with the rabble, merely as an excuse for committing some outrages, or whether it was suggested by some of the leaders of factions, which then divided Paris, is uncertain. The idea, from whatever source it arose, was sufficient to set the rabble in motion. It was determined that the second Bastile should receive the same fate as the first, and on the 28th of February, a large body of men set forward from the suburbs of Paris, with the avowed object of destroying the castle of Vincennes.

The Mayor of Vincennes having had notice of this intention, demanded assistance, and La Fayette sent him a detachment of national guards. But those who were bent on its destruction, had the address to convince the troops, that the place was intended by government to be converted into an engine of despotism and cruelty, that it was worthy of entire destruction, and that it would be disgraceful for the guards of the nation to attempt to prevent it. In consequence of such arguments, the guards, instead of attempting to prevent its destruction, were actually disposed to assist in the work. La Fayette, having been informed that the work of destruction had begun, and that the troops remained passive, repaired himself immediately to the place. His presence and expostulations brought the soldiers to a sense of their duty. He then ordered them to attack the rabble, without firing on them; this was immediately done, and sixty were seized, and the rest dispersed. Many of them ran to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, to excite the populace to attack the guards, and release the prisoners. La Fayette being told that it would be dangerous to march through that quarter of Paris, as the people were in a state of insurrection, placed the prisoners in the middle of his guards, and with some field pieces in front, led them directly through the suburbs, to the Town House; and while the mob were insulting his troops, placed the insurgents safely in prison.

The King had formed the design of passing the Easter holidays at St. Cloud. This intention was no sooner known, than rumours were spread, that his design was to withdraw from the capital, for the purpose of stirring up a civil war, or perhaps to quit the kingdom, and with the assistance of some other power to invade France. On the morning of the 18th of April, a paper was posted on the walls of the Palais Royal, by order of a club, of which Danton* was the head, and Marat a member. This paper accused the King directly of attempting, through the priests, to stir up civil war, and of preparing, with his family, to go and join the enemy.

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* George James Danton, a native of Arcis-sur-Aube, born 26th October, 1759. He was originally a lawyer, but the Revolution drew him into public notice, as the associate of Robespierre and Marat. To an unprincipled hatred against Louis XVI. he added the most ferocious spirit, and after viewing the massacres of September with pleasure, he prepared to organize the public bodies of the state, to resist the invasion of the Prussians. Undismayed amidst the general terror, he opposed the project of removing the Convention beyond the Loire; but while he permitted the cruelties of anarchy, he secretly paved the way for his own elevation to the sovereign power. For a while, Robespierre was his friend, but when he saw his superior eloquence, and his influence among the Jacobins, he marked him for destruction. Dragged before the bloody Revolutionary tribunal, which he had himself established, Danton showed firmness and indif-

In consequence of this report, great numbers assembled around the Tuileries, where the King's carriages were in waiting to convey the royal family to St. Cloud. The place being surrounded by the national guards, the King disregarded the insolence of the rabble, went into his carriage, and ordered the postillion to drive on ; on which, instead of dispersing the mob, the guard closed before the coach, threatened the postillions, if they should dare to proceed, and swore that the royal family should not leave Paris. In the meantime, the King's servants were insulted, and actually dragged from his carriage, and one of the Queen's attendants narrowly escaped with his life from the hands of the rabble. The King had the mortification to hear the most insulting and abusive expressions directed to the Queen.

These gross insults, offered to the royal family, and particularly to the female part of it, did not come from the lowest rabble only ; some citizens of rank joined in them.

M. Bailly, the Mayor, hastened to the Tuileries, to suppress the disorders, but his commands were not obeyed. Gen. La Fayette arrived, as soon as he had notice of the outrage, and, as commander of the guards, ordered them to open to the right and left, and clear the way for the king's coach to pass, but to his

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ference. He was guillotined the first day of April, 1794. Indolent, yet cruel, ambitious and vulgar, this bloody tyrant possessed, with a stentorian voice, the imposing powers of persuasion, and, while devoted to wine and low pleasures, he gained the good opinion of his guilty associates by gross ribaldry and licentious wit.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

astonishment and mortification, the guards refused to obey him.

After having been more than three hours in the carriage, exposed to the insults and derision of a lawless rabble, the King and royal family were under the necessity of getting out and walking back to the palace, amidst their groans, hootings and hissings.

The King went before the National Assembly, and complained of the resistance which had been made to his going to St. Cloud. The Assembly applauded the King's speech, but took no measures to punish the authors of the outrage.

La Fayette was so disgusted with the outrages of the mob, and mortified with the defection of the National Guards, that he resigned his command of them. It then appeared how much he was beloved.* "All the battalions assembled. They appointed deputations to the General, expressing sorrow for their past conduct, and promising implicit obedience to his future orders, if he would again resume his command. They also sent deputations to the municipalities of Paris, and to the departments, entreating them to join in soliciting the General to continue their commander.

The Hotel of La Fayette was filled with these deputations from the different battalions, from the time that he had given in his resignation, until the following morning at five o'clock. The street in which his house stood was crowded with the men who had disobeyed him, all waiting with impatience for the news of his having yielded to their entreaties; but finding that he still refused, they went in crowds to the Townhouse, and begged of the Municipality to use their influence with the General that he would again take the command. The Municipality, perceiving that citizens of all the sections joined in this request of the national guards, declared that they would become responsible for the future obedience of the battalions, and entreated the General to yield to the desire of his fellow citizens.

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* Moore's Revolution.

General La Fayette expressed a proper sense of the honour done him by those requests; adding, that he would not give an immediate answer, but would, on the following day, attend the Municipality at the Town house, and there deliver to them his sentiments.

The General went accordingly, at 10 o'clock, and in the Common hall, where he found all the representatives of the Common Council, with deputies from all the battalions of the national guards, he pronounced a discourse equally distinguished for modesty and good sense. He placed in a strong point of view, the horror which every enlightened citizen must have felt, at beholding those, whose duty it is to support the laws, oppose their execution. He added that, if the capital, which was the cradle of the Revolution, instead of respecting and obeying the executive powers, should besiege them with tumults, and fatigue them with insults, from being an honoured *example*, it would become the *terror* of the French nation; that in the marks of regard with which his fellow citizens had honoured him, too much attention had been paid to an individual, but not enough to the laws. I am thoroughly convinced, said he, that my comrades love me; but I am still to learn, how far they are attached to those principles on which liberty is founded. And he concluded by refusing to resume the command.

On this refusal, and these observations of La Fayette, it was resolved, that each battalion should assemble on the following day, and make a declaration of their sentiments on the subject pointed out in the General's discourse. This was accordingly done by all the different regiments, and in their declarations, instead of expressing attachment to their commander, and wishes that he would resume his station, they spoke solely of their submission to the law, their zeal for the constitution, and their resolution to obey the commander in chief, without once mentioning the name of La Fayette.

The Municipality, having verified the declarations of the national guards, of the cannoniers, of the chasseurs, and of the cavalry, decreed, that the Mayor, at the head of a deputation of eight members of the Common Council, should wait on General La Fayette, and represent to him, that it would endanger the state, if he persisted in his first resolution, and that the greatest proof of patriotism he could give, would be to resume the command.

Although La Fayette had determined not to re-assume his command, he saw the impropriety of resisting any longer; he therefore, having returned proper acknowledgments to the deputation, finally concluded to comply with their request.

On the following day, having resumed the command, he expressed his sense of the honour done him by the various corps; and being then on the parade before the Town house, he proposed that they should go in a body to the King, taking with them all their comrades whom they might meet on the way, and express their sorrow and repentance for what was past, and renew to his Majesty their declaration of allegiance.

This proposal was immediately adopted; La Fayette accompanied them to the Tuileries; addressed the King, in the name of all the national guards, in terms which had been agreed on, and received a gracious reception and answer from the Monarch. As soon as this was known, the troops expressed their satisfaction, by repeated exclamations of Vive le Roi! Vive le Restorateur de la Liberte Francoise! Vive le Petit-fils de Henri IV.*

Notwithstanding these marks of obedience and affection, the Municipality thought best to punish, though in a slight manner, some of the soldiers who had been most forward in the abuse of the King. It was therefore decreed, that a certain company should be reduced, and disbanded on this account; and that another should be raised in its stead. But as it was afterwards represented to the Municipality, that fourteen only, of the company, had been guilty of the crimes charged, all the rest were admitted into the new company, while the fourteen were disgraced. This circumstance was taken hold of by those whose business it was to stir up sedition, and inflame the mob, as a pretext for murmurs, accusation and clamour. These fourteen discarded soldiers were feasted by the Danton and Marat faction, and treated as persecuted patriots, while the conduct of the Municipality was condemned, and La Fayette was accused as an enemy of liberty, and of being bought by the court. Emissaries were employed to blacken his character, and misrepresent his conduct, among the groups of idlers in places of public resort. Placards were posted up, and pamphlets were published against him. The Orleans party, that vile and blood-thirsty association, went so far, as to declare that it would be an act of merit to assassinate him; and at one of those clubs, where the reputations and lives of almost every honest or virtuous man in Paris were plotted against, a woman, fired with the eloquence of one of the orators, swore she would destroy him.

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* Long live the King! Long live the Restorer of French Liberty! Long live the grand-son of Henry IV.

The prevalence of republican principles; the difficulties which the King had had with the Assembly; the conduct of the mob towards the royal family, together with the high standing and influence of the Orleans faction, were circumstances which rendered the residence of the Monarch, in his own capital, not only disagreeable, but dangerous. It was plain from what had already taken place, that he could not, under any pretence, leave the city, if his departure was known.

If he could leave the kingdom, there were, perhaps, strong reasons to believe that, by the assistance of other powers, he might again reign in peace. If the factions which were formed against him, should gain complete ascendancy, from the examples he had already witnessed, he saw that his life would be demanded. Under these circumstances, the unhappy Monarch, through the assistance of M. de Bouille, laid a plan of escape.

M. de Bouille commanded a body of troops on the frontier of the kingdom, and by peculiar management, he contrived, without exciting suspicion, to have under his immediate orders, only such as were in the King's interest. The news of his departure, those in the secret were well aware, would be the signal for the most rapid and vigorous pursuit. But it was thought that he might reach a distance before his departure was known, at which Bouille could meet, and defend him, if necessary. To withdraw any considerable number of his troops from the neighbourhood of their station without orders, would excite suspicion. The King, therefore, was to arrive as near the frontier as it was thought possible, in a given time, before Bouille was to meet him. These arrangements being made and understood by the parties, every thing was prepared for the hazardous experiment, which is thus described.

On the 17th of June, as M. Dumoustier, who had formerly belonged to the body guards, was walking alone in the garden of the Tuileries, an unknown person accosted him, and desired that he would follow him into the palace. He was immediately led before the King, who desired that he would order for himself, and for Maldent and Valory, two of his old companions, three couriers' jackets, of a yellow colour; and that he should walk on the same evening, on the quay of the Pont Royal, where he would be joined by a person who would give him further instruction.

All these directions were carefully attended to; and in consequence of the instructions given to Dumoustier by the unknown person on the quay, Valory went on the 20th to Bondy to order horses and wait there for the King. Dumoustier was at the Porte St. Martin with a coach and four. A coach and only two horses about eleven in the Cour des Princes. M. Maldent entered the palace privately at nine in the evening, and was conducted into a small chamber, where he remained till near twelve. Nothing extraordinary was observed in the appearance or order of the royal family. They retired at the usual hour, and gave the usual orders for the following day. The Queen then gave orders that the prince and princess royal should be dressed, and conducted to a room where she herself was, with the king and the princess Elizabeth. There were besides, two unknown men, one of whom immediately was directed to conduct the two female attendants on the prince and princess royal to a chaise, which was found waiting for them on the Quai Voltaire. Having placed them in the carriage, their conductor withdrew; and the ladies were driven to Claye. The other unknown person accompanied the prince and princess royal, and having entered a coach with two horses, they were soon joined by the Queen and princess Elizabeth, who came without any attendant, and were helped into the carriage by the coachman. The King came last, attended by M. Maldent, who mounted behind the coach, which was immediately driven to Porte St. Martin, and having exchanged it for the carriage with four horses, they were all driven to Bondy, where M. Valory had horses in readiness. Although the royal family came out of the carriage at some of the post houses on the road, and the King conversed familiarly and with apparent ease with several persons he met there, they were not once suspected to be other than the characters they assumed, until they arrived at St. Menehould, about 170 miles from Paris.

The King's brother and his consort were comprehended in M. Bouille's plan. They left the palace of Luxembourg about the same time that the King left the Tuilleries; but it was agreed, for various reasons, that they take a different road; and accordingly directing their course by Flanders, they arrived safely at Mons.

The King and Queen were not so fortunate, though at Menehould, it might be supposed, they thought all their dangers over. But it happened otherwise. Drouet, the port master at this place, had never seen either the King or Queen; but he had seen a portrait of her Majesty, and this circumstance decided the fate of the Royal pair. Struck with the resemblance of that picture, to his guest, the Baroness Knoff, which was the title the Queen assumed, his suspicion was excited. Another circumstance which he could not understand, was, that on the same day there arrived at Menehould two detachments of troops. While ruminating on these mysterious occurrences, he observed the officer who commanded a detachment of the dragoons speaking to one of the couriers in a manner which excited further suspicion. At the same time, the other couriers having paid the former postillions with uncommon liberality, were hurrying the new ones to make haste. Connecting all these observations together, Drouet was strongly suspicious that his guests were the Royal family. Still they did not form a presumption strong enough to justify him in stopping the carriages, which were allowed to proceed. But soon after their departcre, when Drouet saw that the dragoons were preparing to follow them, his suspicions amounted, in his mind, to a certainty, and without further hesitation he called out "*To arms*," asserting that it certainly was the Royal family which had just departed, and that it was the duty of good citizens to prevent their going out of the kingdom. He immediately instigated all the people around to hinder the dragoons from following the carriages, and his directions were literally followed. The whole detachment of dragoons seem to have been struck with an apathy altogether unaccountable. Instead of silencing Drouet, and riding full speed after the King, they remained passive, while Drouet and another person set forward on horseback with all expedition to Varennes, and arrived at the inn some minutes before the King.

They immediately informed Le Blanc, the inn keeper, that the King and royal family would arrive in a few minutes, and that their intention was to leave the kingdom. The town was instantly in alarm. Le Blanc, with a few followers, armed themselves and met the carriages and ordered them to stop ; while Drouet and others upset a loaded waggon on the bridge to intercept their passage, in case they should attempt to proceed by force. The postillions were offering to proceed, but were threatened to do so on peril of being shot. An officer of the police coming to the carriage, was presented with a regular passport for the Baroness Knoff and her family, going to Frankfort. It was signed *Louis*, and countersigned *Montmorin*. The magistrate, without discovering that he had any suspicion of the persons alleged, that it was too late to examine passports, it being then midnight, and that the roads being bad, he would accommodate the whole party at his house till morning. This offer was accepted, partly through the fear of attempting to proceed by force, and partly in hopes that the dragoons would arrive.

Soon after, a party of hussars arrived, under the command of an aid to Gen. Bouille. They drew up before the magistrate's house, while the magistrate, not being absolutely certain that this was the King, went to the house of M. de Lon, who had seen his Majesty, and requested him to go and ascertain this important point.

On their arrival at the magistrate's house, de Lon was conducted into the chamber where the Royal family were; and the instant he saw the King, he signified by an expressive look that it was certainly Louis.

The unhappy King observing this, thought that all further dissimulation would be vain; turning therefore to the magistrate, he said, with great emotion, Oui je suis votre Roi. Place dans la capitale au milieu des poignards et des bayonettes, je viens chercher en province, au milieu de mes fideles sujets, la liberte et la paix dout vous jouissez tous. Je ne puis plus rester a Paris sans y mourir, ma famille et moi."*

He concluded this affecting address by conjuring the magistrate and all in his hearing, to assist him in making his escape. The magistrate replied, that he had sworn to be faithful to the nation, the law and the King, and that he should betray all three by complying with this request. He begged, therefore, that his Majesty would give over all thought of proceeding further, and consent to return to the capital. The Queen, shocked with the idea of being dragged back to Paris, taking the Dauphin in her hand, in the most pathetic terms, conjured the magistrate, and all who heard her, to save the lives of their King and his children, by assisting them to escape; for that misery and ruin awaited them at the capital.

Meantime it was found that the hussars, who had come to recal the King, had been gained over by the national guards, and on the next day an aid-de-camp of General La Fayette, with orders from the National Assembly, arrived at Varennes. He presented these orders to the King, and represented to him the universal uneasiness which his withdrawing had occasioned.

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* Yes, I am your King. Being surrounded in the capital by daggers and bayonetts, I come to my faithful subjects of this province in search of that liberty and safety which you all enjoy. My family and I were in continual danger of being murdered at Paris.

The unfortunate monarch replied, that he never intended to go out of France. That his plan was to go no further than Montmedi, and that the safety of himself and family required that they should retire from Paris, which was governed by the populace. And he again insisted on being permitted to proceed on his journey, inviting the magistrate and the national guards to accompany him thither. In reply to this, the magistrate could only repeat his former entreaties, that his Majesty would consent to return to Paris.

The royal family, therefore, were obliged to set out for the capital, guarded by a numerous band of national guards, and accompanied by the Municipal officers of Varennes. Several parties of Bouille's troops arrived soon after the departure of the King, and an attempt was made to rescue him, but in this they failed.

The news of the King's flight from Paris occasioned the most vehement commotion in that city. It was known about 8 o'clock, on the morning after his departure. Cannon were immediately fired, the tocsin sounded, the national guards were summoned to be under arms, and people hurried from all quarters to the gardens of the Tuileries. Indignation prevailed among the populace, and all signs which had on them the portraits of the King and Queen, were torn down and trampled under foot. A man named Louis, was obliged to erase his name from his sign.

The officer who commanded the body guard, was saved from being murdered by the mob, by the national guards. The steady, prudent and firm conduct of La Fayette, and the guards he commanded, was of the utmost consequence on this occasion. Numerous lives were saved by their interposition.

La Fayette, in consequence of being a known friend to the royal family, though a promoter of the Revolution, fell under the suspicion of the populace. The undeviating course he had pursued, both as a member of the first Assembly, and commander in chief of the national guards, had procured for him the homage and respect of men of principle and virtue. But humanity and justice at that day, were unpopular in the French capital. La Fayette was suspected of being privy to the King's flight. The populace did not know that in the articles proposed to the King, by the foreign courts, it was expressly stated, that La Fayette was not to be trusted. The contrivers of that plan, knew that his principles would not admit of his joining them, and that it would be vain to attempt his corruption. La Fayette was protected by the national guard from the populace; and when some insinuations were thrown out to his disadvantage, in the National Assembly, he was defended by Barnave,* who declared that La Fay-

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* Barnave, next to Mirabeau, the most conspicuous member of the first National or Constituent Assembly, was originally a native of Grenoble, and an advocate in its Parliament. While running so brilliant a career, his age did not exceed twenty-seven years. It would be impossible for us, even in the compass of this volume, to do complete justice to the character of this extraordinary young man; his history wholly includes that of the first three years of the Revolution. It will suffice for our purpose, to make a selection of the most important facts in which be was the chief actor.

On the famous 20th of June, 1789, when the National Assembly met in the tennis-court at Versailles, Barnave exhibited, for the first time, his wonderful powers of eloquence, in a speech, the object of which was to prove, that there existed in the King's Council an intention to dissolve the States-General, and that the Assembly ought to take an oath never to separate, until the objects of their mission had been completely attained.

On the 24th of the same month, he moved, contrary to the King's express order, that the sittings of the Assembly should be made public; it being singular, he said, that the nation should be refused admittance into the national Assembly. He was the chief author of the law which was enacted in October, 1789, decreeing, that no bankrupt, or insolvent ette had proved himself the friend of liberty from the beginning of the Revolution, and that he merited the

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debtor, should become a member of any Municipality, or of the Provincial and National Assemblies. At this period, he however, disgraced his philosophical character, by an expression, uttered in the heat of debate—Ce sang etoit il done si pur?—Was, then, that blood so pure?—on an occasion, when moderate men were denouncing the assassinations committed by the Parisian mob upon the King's life guards in Versailles, on the memorable night of the 5th of October.

Barnave was perpetually upon the stage during the whole year of 1790. In the sitting of the 12th of March, he was the member who moved for the suppression of the religious orders. "What I propose is not for our own benefit," said he, with his usual eloquence; "it is for the benefit of the religious persons themselves; it is not we, but they, who stand in need of that freedom, which they have so imprudently alienated. We ought to abolish those restraints, even though we should be losers by our conduct: I am not proposing a financial operation, but a moral and political arrangement."

The sitting of the 22nd of June was wholly occupied by Barnave, in opposition to Mirabeau, on the question of the power to be delegated to the King, of making war and peace: his speeches on this occasion, are esteemed the best he ever delivered.

He was a steady promoter of the emancipation of the negroes in the colonies; and having carried his point, he wrote some instructions on the best mode of convoking the Colonial Assemblies. His conduct, however, in this affair, was highly disapproved of by the French politicians, who imagined, that an unbounded liberty to the negroes would be fatal to the West Indies. Some of them, who gave Barnave full credit for the goodness of his intentions, ascribed his conduct simply to his violent patriotism; others thought, however, that he ought to be judicially condemned for his rashness. Of the latter opinion, was the author of a pamphlet, entitled, The portrait of the French Legislators, published at Paris, in the year 1791.

confidence of the Assembly. He was accordingly, confirmed in the command of the national guards.

Barnave, like the greater part of the constituents, was attached to a limited monarchy. He was appointed by the National Assembly, jointly with Latour-Maubourg and Petion, to meet the royal family, when returning to Paris, after their flight to Varennes.

The three Deputies were seated in the same carriage with the King and Queen; and it was obvious, that both of them bestowed upon Barnave so marked a degree of preference, as greatly to exasperate the others. This flattering conduct, aided by the winning address of her Majesty, and the affecting point of view in which they appeared, had the effect of converting Barnave to their interest. In the subsequent struggles, therefore, he lent his support to the royal party, with so much energy and success, that he obtained a degree of oblivion for the conduct of the court in that affair.

Upon the conclusion of the session of the National Assembly, Barnave was appointed by his countrymen, mayor of Grenoble. He likewise married the only daughter of a *conseiller des aides*, of the same city, with a dowry of 700,000 livres.

He did not however, long enjoy either dignity or fortune. In the year 1794, when a persecution was begun by the terrorists, against all those who were constituents, or considered as well affected to monarchy, Barnave was seized by the Revolutionary committee of Grenoble, and transferred to the bloody and unsparing tribunal of Dumas, in Paris. His behaviour, during his mock trial, was resolute and highly intrepid. On the question of the President, why he became a royalist, he boldly answered—"I was the most zealous advocate of freedom, so long as it was founded upon the principles of philosophy; but I detest it, as a tool of mischief, in the hands of miscreants like you."

This great man was sent to the guillotine on the 12th of April, 1794, in the 33d year of his age.

Barnave's eloquence is said to have been the effect of long study, joined to professional practice at the bar, and neither natural nor affecting, especially when compared with the

As soon as it was known to the National Assembly, that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes, a commission was appointed by that body to meet them, with full powers to order whatever they should think necessary, for their accommodation and security, on their way to Paris.

On their arrival at Paris, the streets through which the sad procession passed, were crowded by the populace, some of whom insulted them by making a mock reverence. On the seat of the King's carriage, sat the three body guards, who had acted as couriers, with their arms bound, and following this, in an open cabriolet, was placed Drouet, crowned with laurels, for having instigated the arrest of his Majesty.

The procession having stopped at the Tuileries, the royal family were again lodged in that palace, under the responsibility of La Fayette. The question now was, whether the King was subject to trial, or punishment. Great pains were taken by the Orleans party, to convince the people, that the King's intention was to join the emigrants, and foreign forces, and invade his own country. Some enthusiasts of this party, who expected that Orleans would be appointed Regent, during the Dauphin's minority, declared, that the peace of France required, that the King should be immediately dethroned.

Condorcet,* an atheist, though a powerful writer,

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fascinating speeches of Mirabeau. The latter was the orator, the former the rhetorician.

Barnave possessed considerable personal courage. In a duel, which took place between him and de Cazales, who had called him a banditto, the seconds reported, that he waited with great sang froid, and an unmoved countenance while his antagonist ground the flint of his pistol, which would not strike fire.—*Biog. Anecdotes.*

*John Anthony Nicholas Caritat, Marquis of Condorcet, one of the founders of the French republic, was born 17th concentrated all his powers to refute the arguments in favor of a monarchial government. Brissot and Tho-

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Sept. 1743, at Ribemont, in Picardy, of a noble family. He preferred the pursuits of literature to the military profession, and studied mathematics and belles lettres, at the college of Navarre, and at the age of 21, he gained the applauses of the learned, by his ingenious memoir on the calcul differentiel, which was received by the academy of Paris with marked approbation. He afterwards became the friend of d'Alembert, and of Voltaire, and corresponded with the King of Prussia, and when made Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, he distinguished himself by the spirited eulogies which he pronounced on the meritorious services of his departed brethren. In the Constituent Assembly, he was made Governour to the Dauphin; but his zeal in favour of republican principles, overpowered the respect which he owed to majesty, and though patronised by Louis XVI. he ventured to recommend the abolition of monarchy, and the triumph of liberty. But though hostile to the monarchy, he showed some compassion for the King, and opposed his violent trial; but his measures were viewed with jealousy by Robespierre and his party, and he was regarded as a hypocrite, who, under the mask of moderation and philosophy, aspired at the sovereign power. He was therefore condemned, 28th July, 1793, as one of the Girondists, and for a while concealed himself at Paris, but afterwards sought refuge at the house of a friend in the country. His friend unfortunately was absent, and he was obliged to hide himself for several nights in some quarries, till hunger forced him to seek relief in a neighbouring tavern. His long beard, squalid appearance, and the voracious appetite with which he devoured the bread placed before him, rendered him suspected, he was arrested, and might have escaped under the character of a distressed servant, but a Horace found in his pocket, proved him to be a man of education and of consequence. On the morrow, the gaoler found him dead, a sacrifice either to excessive fatigue and continued want, or to poison, 28th March, 1794. In his character, Condorcet was weak but ambitious, fond of novelty, and, in pursuit of imaginary hapmas Paine joined in the clamour against the power and danger of Kings, and this club, so entirely void of principle itself, undertook to model the French government, on what they termed "Republican principles." Paris being filled with publications calculated to inflame the people against the very existence of royalty; while orators went about the streets haranguing the mob against the conduct of the National Assembly, because they had passed some mild and judicious decrees concerning the King,—the capital was, at this time, torn by factions, and ruled by the mob.

Robespierre, coming out of the Assembly, after the passage of those decrees, said to the rabble who collected around him, "alas, my friends, all is ruined; the King is to be restored." This was repeated all over Paris, as a certain proof, that the Assembly had turned traitors, and that the country was undone. The theatres were shut, as in times of great public calamity, and the people assembled at the Champ de Mars, to sign a declaration denouncing the King, and demanding of the National Assembly, that they should take means to free the French throne of a man, who was called a fugitive, and a traitor. This declaration was drawn up by the heads of two different factions.

As soon as the Assembly were informed of these proceedings, they ordered the Municipal officers to

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piness, little attentive to the feelings of humanity, the calls of virtue, and the precepts of Christianity. He was, according to d'Alembert, a volcano covered with snow. His writings were respectable. Besides a sketch of the progress of the human mind—a treatise on arithmetic—a tract on calculation, and on the problem of the three bodies, &c. he wrote eulogies on Bernouilli, d'Alembert, Euler, Jussieu, Buffon, and others, which possessed great merit, though that on Voltaire, is considered as turgid and insignificant. His publications were 26 in number.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

their bar, and directed them to take measures to disperse these tumultuous Assemblies, and punish their promoters.

Accordingly, orders were issued to La Fayette to disperse all groups in the streets, or assemblies in the fields, and to seize the disobedient, and carry them to prison.

Vast numbers, however, flocked to the Champ de Mars, to sign the declaration; which was done on the altar of the confederation. The fury of the multitude seemed to augment with their numbers, but no unfortunate object had yet appeared, on whom, with any excuse, they could vent their rage. At this time, there was discovered, under the boards of which the altar was made, two men, one a soldier, with a wooden leg, and the other a hair-dresser. They had the curiosity to secrete themselves there, to observe who ascended the altar, to sign the declaration. They were immediately dragged out, and accused of having an intention of blowing up the patriots, both male and female, who went to sign the declaration. No investigation was made, no examination of the ground under the altar took place. It was enough that they were accused. Death quickly followed. These poor innocent persons were taken by the mob to the nearest lanthorn posts, and hanged. Their heads were then cut off, stuck upon pikes, according to custom, and marched in procession before the windows of the Palais Royal.

La Fayette immediately marched with a detachment of guards, to disperse the rabble, and take the atrocious murderers. Martial law, meantime, was proclaimed, and a red flag displayed from the Town house. When the guards arrived at the Champ de Mars, M. Bailly, the Mayor, and La Fayette, used every remonstrance to persuade the multitude to disperse, but in vain. La Fayette then ordered a part of his men to fire over their heads. When they found that none were wounded, they grew still more outrageous, and insulted, and even wounded, some of the national guards. They were then commanded to fire upon the aggressors. This was done promptly, and between 60 and 70 were killed, or wounded. The mob then fled into the city, where they tried to instigate the citizens to rise against Bailly, La Fayette and the guards. But no attention was paid to these clamours. Danton and Desmoulins, the avowed exciters of this insurrection, immediately disappeared. The Municipality had issued orders to arrest the first, but he fled, and his friend Desmoulins followed him. Marat,* who belonged to the same club, and was equally guilty, betook himself to a subterranean habitation, which had been

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* John Paul Marat, one of the atrocious leaders of the French Revolution, was born at Beaudry, near Neufchatel, in Switzerland, 1744. He studied medicine, but with little knowledge of it, he acquired public notice by passing as an empiric. and by selling at a high price, a water which he pretended, could cure all diseases. After visiting England, he returned to Paris, at the time that the revolution broke out, and with all the ardor of a man who wishes to profit by the miseries of the public, he began to attack the character of the ministers, especially Neckar, in his Publiciste Parisien. To this vile, but popular publication, succeeded L'Ami du Peuple, in which he recommended, in seditious language, revolt, pillage, and murder ; he excited the soldiers to assassinate their generals, the poor to seize the property of the rich, and the profligate to cut off their enemies. Though the Assembly viewed his conduct with detestation, and seized his papers, he continued his periodical labours, under the patronage of the jacobins, and when elected Deputy to the Convention, he appeared in the hall, armed with pistols. Delighting in blood, he promoted the murders of September, and, never satisfied with carnage, he, by repeated accusations, carried the most virtuous of the citizens, and the bravest of the Generals, to the guillotine, and declared, with exultation, that the happiness of France required for its consolidation, the sacrifice of 300,000 more lives. This execrable wretch might still have added to the number of his victims, but a heroine arose to rid the world of the blood thirsty ty

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rant. Charlotte Corday* obtained access to him, while he was in his bath, and with a blow of a dagger, she laid the monster dead at her feet, 14th July. 1793. His remains were honoured by his sanguinary accomplices, with all the distinction due only to a hero, and were deposited with great pomp in the Pantheon. But though prejudice or fear exalted this monster to the rank of a god, and dedicated busts, pyramids and temples to his honour, the public opinion soon changed, his memory was insulted, and his very body dug up, and thrown into a common sink. This worthless tyrant was, in his person, disagreeable and ferocious; he spoke with animation, but his looks betrayed the black purposes of his heart.

He wrote Man, or the principles of the influence of the soul on the body, and of the body on the soul, 1775, 2 vols. 12mo. a work severely criticised by Voltaire; Discoveries on fire, electricity, and light, 8vo. 1779; Discovery on light, 8vo. in which he attacks Newton's system; Memoirs on electricity, &c.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

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*Marie Anne Victoire Charlotte Corde, or Corday, the woman who performed this remarkable assassination, was a native of St. Saturnin des Lienerets. She was the daughter of a gentleman in easy circumstances, and had inflamed her mind by study and meditation to the commission of an act, which she thought would be beneficial to her country. But her action cannot be ascribed to patriotism alone; it is not improbable that she was influenced by love for Barbaroux, whom she had long known, and whose life she imagined to be at Marat's disposal. While the proscribed deputies were at Caen, she frequently came, attended by a servant, to the Town hall, and inquired for Barbaroux, to whom she pretended some business, but always conversed with him in presence of her domestic. She was apprehended immediprepared for him, by a butcher, and which had, on several other occasions, protected him from public

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ately on the perpetration of her extraordinary attempt, and sent first to the Abbaye, and afterwards to the Conciergerie. She was put on her trial the 17th, and avowed the fact and all the circumstances, alleging as a justification, that she considered Marat a criminal already convicted by the public opinion, and that she had a right to put him to death. She added, that she did not expect to have been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but to have been delivered up to the rage of the populace, torn to pieces, and that her head fixed on a pike, would have been borne before Marat, on his state bed, and serve as a rallying point to Frenchmen, if any still existed worthy of that name. Her answers to the various interrogatories, were brief, pointed, distinguished by good sense, and sometimes by wit. Her advocate, precluded by her confession from making any defence as to the facts, delivered a speech in her favour, in which he insisted, that her unruffled calmness and supernatural self-denial, must be occasioned only by that fermentation of political fanaticism, which also armed her hand with the dagger, and that it was for them to consider what weight that moral consideration should have in the scale of justice She was found guilty and executed the same day. When sentence was pronounced on her, she thanked her counsel for the manner in which he had pleaded her cause, which she said was delicate and generous. She desired a friend to pay the debts she had contracted while in prison, and requested of the judges, that three letters which she had in her hand, two to Barbaroux, and one to her father, might be delivered. In her way to the place of execution, she displayed a firmness and tranquillity which charmed many of the spectators, and even awed into silence those persons called Revolutionary women, or furies of the guillotine, who in general pursued the victim to death with execrations and reproaches. She submitted to her fate with the same composure which marked her preceding conduct. She is described by Louvet, who saw her at Caen, to have been stout, well made, with an open air, and modest behaviour; her face, that of a fine, justice. This monster met with a better fate than he deserved. He ought to have died by the rope of the hangman, rather than by the beautiful hand which gave him the deadly blow.

The energy with which La Fayette suppressed this formidable insurrection, was highly approved of by the Assembly, and the citizens of Paris.

The time now arrived when the National Assembly was to close its long and arduous session. The committee which had been employed for a considerable time in digesting the constitutional decrees had concluded its labours. The whole was read to the Assembly on the 4th of August, 1791. It was then debated, article by article, and on the third of September presented to the King, who was at the same time restricted by the Assembly to accept or reject the whole without exception or observation. On the 13th of the same month, being attended by a deputation of sixty members, the King went to the Assembly, and sanctioned the assent he had the day before given. This was done by renewing his oath, that he would be faithful to the nation, and employ the powers vested in him to maintain the Constitution, and on the 30th of September the Assembly was terminated by its own spontaneous dissolution.*

On the same day on which the King accepted the

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and pretty woman, combined. The circumstances which attended this extraordinary action, the privacy with which it was concerted, the resolution with which it was executed, the openness of confession, the contempt of punishment, and, above all, the execrable character of the wretch who was the object of it, have taken off so much of the horror generally felt at an act of assassination, that the name of Charlotte Corday is generally pronounced with respect, and a great degree of admiration.—*Adolphus' Memoirs.*

* Adolphus.

revised Constitution, La Fayette moved a general amnesty, which should put a stop to all prosecutions begun on account of the revolution, and forgive those who had assisted the King in his flight. He also obtained a decree to abolish the necessity of passports, and to permit ingress and regress, both to natives and foreigners. Both of these were voted with loud acclamations,* and the cry *Vive la Fayette*, was heard in every direction.

In obedience to the revised Constitution, La Fayette now resigned his commission as commander in chief of the national guards. He took leave of them in a very prudent and affectionate letter, reminding them of their sacred duties, and advising them constantly to keep those duties in view as a guide to their conduct.

At this time M. Bailly resigned his office of mayor of the city of Paris. La Fayette, being now no longer in command of the guards, was set up by the moderate party as a candidate to fill the vacancy. He was, however, successfully opposed by Petion,† who, aided by the jacobin party, found a certain triumph over him.

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* Adolphus.

† Jerome Petion was born at Chantres, in the department of Eure, in 1759. His family was not noble, but it was at once opulent and respectable. He received an excellent education, studied the law, was called to the bar, and practiced a number of years in his native city. He also was distinguished as a man of letters, and while the Bastile stood, he expressed a marked abhorrence at the multifarious abuses which had crept into the French government, and unveiled the radical defects of its political, civil, and ecclesiastical institutions. Petion wrote a memoir on the laws and administration of France, so early as 1782. This occasioned a search after the author; and had he been found, there is little doubt that the advocate who pleaded so eloquently for the liberty of others would have been deprived of his own. In 1789, he became a member of the National Assembly, where he had great influence. In order to make himself acquaint-

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ed with the criminal code of England, he repaired to that country, and attended the trials at old Bailey. In 1791, on the resignation of M. Bailly, he was elected Mayor of Paris; and that capital was more than once saved from plunder in consequence of his popularity, and the powers of persuasion with which he was eminently gifted. During the ferocious massacres that took place in 1792, he still occupied the important office of mayor; but the contrivers of those infernal excesses, by bereaving him of his reputation for patriotism, at the same time deprived him of the power to impede their atrocities. During the hottest part of that bloody scene, he was detained at his house by force, but no sooner was he liberated than he repaired to the place of carnage and chased away the ruffians, some of whom, as if there was merit in murder, actually demanded of him a reward. On the 10th of August he was detained for a time in the palace as a hostage for the safety of the King, a circumstance which hastened the destruction of his Majesty. He afterwards, upon the condemnation of Louis, voted for an appeal to the nation. This circumstance, although he was considered a violent republican, gave some of the fiercer ones an occasion to suspect him, so that when the crisis of the 31st of May arrived, he was ranked among the proscribed deputies, and committed to prison. On the following morning he made his escape and went to the department of Gironde. He there remained concealed under the dress of a volunteer soldier, for a considerable time. From Gironde, Petion, with a number of others, passed over to Bordeaux, but being afraid to enter the city lest they be recognized as proscribed persons and immediately put to death, they wandered about without shelter or provision, until some of the inhabitants, being suspicious of them, began to be in motion, when they escaped in the night. They now obtained information that fifty troopers were in search of them, but were so fortunate as to elude their vigilance by secreting themselves in a quarry.

Exposed to the fury of the elements, destitute of clothes, provisions, or even shoes; subsisting only by accident, and

La Fayette, now heartily tired of the tumultuous and bloody scenes he had so often witnessed in the French capital, and having no disposition to make himself conspicuous by joining any of the factions by which that city was torn, left Paris and retired to his estate at Auvergne. But he did not long remain in retirement. His country required his services as a commander, and he obeyed her call.

At this period, 1792, Europe presented one vast theatre of hostile preparations. Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, had entered into engagements for the restoration of the ancient monarchy of France. Germany, though no party to these proceedings, was collecting a large army on the Netherland frontier of France, which was represented as a measure of self defence, and the French emigrants were forming themselves into military bodies in the electorates of Germany. These

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liable every moment to destruction from their own countrymen, what now was to be done? It was impossible to remain together without being discovered. Their party consisted of nine persons, all in the same situation, and the idea of separating was horrible; they, however, resolved on it, as the only means by which any could escape. They divided, and took different routes. Of the nine, six were taken and executed, and one died in his bed. Petion and his companion, Buzot, having determined to remain together and undergo the same fate, wandered about from place to place, sometimes taking shelter in a barn or empty hayloft; sometimes exposed for whole days and nights, without clothing, to the inclemency of the season, and often destiutte of the means of supporting life. Nature being exhausted by so many privations, at length yielded to the pressure, and their bodies emaciated and haggard, were found stretched on the ground in the same field, in the department of Gironde. They were supposed to have perished by want, in the centre of one of the most fertile provinces in France. Petion was a handsome man, no more than thirty-four years old when he died.

hostile indications, which could no longer be mistaken, awakened the National Assembly of France to a sense of the perilous condition of their already distracted country.

The King, who had done every thing in his power to avert an appeal to arms, repaired to the Assembly on the 20th of April, and in the conclusion of his speech said, "Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating situation that alike affects our Constitution and our dignity. I come, therefore, in the terms of the Constitution, to propose to you to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The diplomatic committee immediately withdrew, to deliberate on the proposition made by his Majesty, and on their return, reported in favour of a decree of war, which was adopted by the Assembly on the 20th of April.

The Assembly voted that the army should consist of 450,000 men, and that the vast sum of three hundred millions of livres, in government paper, should be placed in the hands of the ministers of war, to defray the expenses of the military establishment.

La Fayette was now recalled from his retirement to take a command in the army. Marshal Rochambeau commanded an army of 30,000 men in the north, and took up his head quarters at Valenciennes. General La Fayette established his head quarters at Mentz, having the command of the centre, consisting of 20,000 men. Marshal Luckner, meantime commanded the army of the Rhine, consisting of 50,000 men.—Thus the army was divided into three separate bodies of troops, extending from Switzerland to Dunkirk, and intending to act against Germany.

The first operations of the French army were directed against the Austrian Netherlands. It was concerted between the three commanders, that La Fayette should march against the Low Countries, at the head of 50,000 men, where he was to be supported by

Rochambeau. Having collected a train of seventy-eight pieces of artillery, he sent it forward under the command of M. Narbonne, who marched fifty-six leagues in the space of five days. The intention was to force a rendezvous in the heart of the country. La Fayette arrived at the head of the main army at Givet, the place of destination, on the day appointed; but a part of Rochambeau's division, not reaching the place in time, the expedition was rendered in a great measure abortive, though La Fayette continued to keep his ground.

La Fayette's army occupied the tract of country from Givet to Bouvines. His advanced guard being employed in foraging, were attacked on the 23d of May by a body of Austrians, who obliged them to retreat with considerable loss. La Fayette having obtained information of the danger to which this party was exposed, advanced against the Austrians with the main body of his army, and after a considerable skirmish put them to flight.

The disturbances at Paris now attracted the attention of La Fayette. During his absence, great changes had taken place. The popular clamours against the King had greatly increased. A mob had broken into the palace under the pretence of delivering the King a petition. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the federation, when Louis approached the altar to renew his oath, a thousand tongues denounced him as a perjured prince, and it was with much difficulty that the guards could protect his person from violence. The Assembly, so far from bringing the authors of these outrages to exemplary punishment, suffered them to escape, while they were constantly passing decrees, which deprived the King of some of his prerogatives. In this state of things, La Fayette wrote a letter to the National Assembly, in which he exposes the violent and unconstitutional proceedings of the jacobin club, and refers to the leaders of that faction, as being the guilty authors of the present dreadful condition of the country.

La Fayette's letter to the Legislative Body.

At the entrenched camp of Maubeuge, 16th June, 1792.

"Gentlemen,

"At the moment, perhaps too long deferred, in which I am about to call your attention to the highest public interests, and to point out among our dangers, the conduct of a ministry, whom I have for a long time censured in my correspondence, I learn that, unmasked in consequence of its own divisions, it has fallen a sacrifice to its own intrigues. [This was the Brissotin ministry.] It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government has been delivered from its disastrous influence. The public welfare is in peril—the fate of France depends principally on its representatives—the nation expects from them its security. But in giving them a constitution, France has prescribed to them the only means by which she can be saved.

"Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituent assembly, a constitution ought to be the law of the legislators, which that constitution shall have established. It is to you that I ought to denounce the too powerful efforts which are making, to induce you to depart from that course which you have promised to pursue.

"Nothing shall deter me from the exercise of this right as a free man, to fulfil this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion; for what are opinions when they depart from principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people, whose sovereign will it is to have a constitution: nor the benevolence and kindness which you have constantly evinced for myself; for I would preserve that as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

"Your situation is difficult; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. Whilst foreign powers announce the intolerable (inadmissible) project of attacking our national sovereignty, and avow it as a principle! at the same time the enemies of France, its interior enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and annoy us with their insolent malevolence. You ought, gentlemen, to repress them, and you will have the power so to do, only when you shall become constitutional and just. You wish it, no doubt; but cast your eyes on all that passes within your own body and around you. Can you dissemble, even to yourselves, that a faction, (and to avoid all vague denunciations) the jacobin faction, have caused all these disorders? It is that which I boldly accuse—organized like a separate empire in the metropolis, and in its affiliated societies, blindly directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a corporation entirely distinct in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps, by tyrannizing over its representatives and constituted authorities.

" It is in that body, in its public meeting, the love of the laws is denounced as aristocracy, and their breach as patriotism. There the assassins of Dessilles receive their triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrists. There, the recital of the massacre which has stained the city of Metz, has also been received with infernal acclamations! Have they become sacred because the emperor Leopold has pronounced their name? And because it is our highest duty to combat the foreigners, who mingle in our domestic quarrels, are we at liberty to refrain from delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

" Of what importance is it, as to the fulfilment of this duty, that strangers have their projects, and their connivance and concert with our internal foes? Is it I, who denounce to you this sect [the jacobins;] I, who, without speaking of my past life, can reply to those who suspect my motives—" Approach in this moment of awful crisis, when the character of each man must be known, and see which of us, more inflexible in his principles, more obstinate in his resistance, will more courageously overcome those obstacles and those dangers which traitors to their country conceal, and which true citizens know how to appreciate, and to brave for her.

“ And how could I delay longer to fulfil this duty? whilst every successive day weakens still more the constituted authorities, substitutes the spirit of party for the will of the people; whilst the audacity of the agitators, [the disorganizers] imposes silence upon peaceable citizens, throws into retirement useful men, and whilst devotion to the sect or party stands in the place of public and private virtues, which, in a free country, ought to be the austere [severe or strict] and only means of attaining to public office.

“ It is, after having opposed to all the obstacles, and to all the snares, which were laid for me, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to conspiracies against its commander [La Fayette was the commander] that I now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a ministry, worthy representative of its club—a correspondence, the calculations of which are false, its promises vain and illusory; its information deceitful or frivolous; its advice perfidious or contradictory; correspondence, in which after pressing me to advance without precaution—to attack without means—they finally began to tell me that resistance was impossible, when I indignantly repelled the cowardly and base assertion. What a remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between the factions whom the aristocracy avow, and those who usurp the name of patriots! They both wish to overthrow our laws, rejoice in our disorders, array themselves against the constituted authorities, detest the national guards [the militia,] preach insubordination to the army; sow, at one moment, distrust; at another discouragement.

"As to myself, gentlemen, who embraced the American cause at the moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was perilous or desperate—who from that moment have devoted my life to a persevering defence of liberty and of the sovereignty of the people—who, on the 14th of July, 1789, (after the taking of the Bastile,) in presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to say, "that in order that a nation should be free, it is only necessary that it should will so to be." I come, this day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause—of contempt, for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully or stain it with crimes; I am ready to declare, that the French nation, if it is not the vilest in the universe; can and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings who have coalesced against it.

"It is not in the midst of my brave army that timid counsels should be permitted.—Patriotism, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the military and civil virtues I find here. Here the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property held sacred. Here calumnies and factions are unknown. And when I reflect that France has many millions who can become such soldiers, I ask myself, to what a degree of debasement must such an immense people be reduced, stronger in its natural resources than in its artificial defences, opposing to a monstrous and discordant confederation, simple and united counsels and combinations, that the cowardly, degrading idea of sacrificing its sovereignty, of permitting any discussion as to its liberties, of committing to negotiation its rights, could be considered among the possibilities of a rapidly advancing futurity!

"But, in order that we, soldiers of liberty, should combat for her with efficacy, or die for her with any fruit or advantage, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of the country should be promptly made in some degree proportionate to that of our opponents; that the supplies of all descriptions should be increased so as to facilitate our movements; that the comfort and conveniences of the troops, their clothes and arms, their pay, the accommodations for the sick, should no longer be subject to fatal delays, or to a miserable and misplaced economy, which defeats its very end.

"It is above all necessary that the citizens, rallied round their constitution, should be assured that the rights, which that constitution guarantees, shall be respected with a religious fidelity; which will of itself cause more despair to our enemies than any other measure.

"Do not repel this desire—this ardent wish. It is that of all the sincere friends of your legitimate authority; assured that no unjust consequence or effect can flow from a pure principle—that no tyrannical measure can save a cause, which owes its force, aye, and its glory, to the sacred principles of liberty and equality. Let criminal jurisprudence resume its constitutional power. Let civil equality—let religious freedom enjoy the application of their true principles. In fine, let the reign of the clubs be annihilated by you; let them give place to the laws—their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the powers of the constituted authorities—their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty—their delirious fury to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights, and is ready to defend them—in fine, their sectarian combinations to the true interests of the country, of the nation, which in a moment of danger ought to unite all, except those, to whom its subjection and ruin are the objects of atrocious pleasure and infamous speculation. LA FAYETTE."

When this letter was read in the Assembly, it was greatly applauded by the majority, and by the tribunes;

it however, did not escape severe censure from those whose power and influence it attacked. Verigaud, a Jacobin, observed that the remonstrances of a General at the head of his army, looked like an attempt to overawe the Assembly. Gaudet said, that Cromwell would have used the same style, in writing to the Parliament of Great Britain, when the liberties of England had been destroyed.

If these arguments were attended with little effect on the National Assembly, the animadversions in the Jacobin club produced the most violent enthusiasm. All the popular orators of that execrable society, particularly Robespierre, Danton, Desmoulins, and Collot d'Herbois, uttered violent denunciations against the General, and extended their rancour to the Ministers and King. On hearing of the insurrection of the 20th of June, La Fayette set out for the capital. He was received by the guards and all the lovers of order, with their usual affection. Several battalions waited on their former commander, and offered to second the views with which his journey was undertaken. A tree of liberty, ornamented with laurels and garlands, was planted before the door of his hotel,* and the people in the streets greeted him with their customary acclamations. The Jacobins were struck with alarm at his appearance, as they had no doubt but he had come for the purpose of bringing the authors of the insurrections which they had promoted to punishment. It was of course supposed, that his army was in full march to support him ; or that he had been assured that the forces of the capital only wanted a commander to enforce the laws. The King, it was believed, depended much on La Fayette's assistance at this juncture. He appeared alone at the bar of the National Assembly, on the 28th of June, and this circumstance strengthened the general conjecture, that he had not come unsupported. In his address to the Assembly, he began by avowing the letter he had addressed to them on the 16th, and the sentiments it contained. He then, with a boldness perhaps bordering on temerity, in the faces of many of the Jacobin club, demanded of the Assembly, in the name of the army, and all good citizens, " the punishment of the instigators and executors of the violences of the 20th of June. He also demanded the suppression of the Jacobin societies, and that the Assembly would take measures for preventing all attempts against the Constitution, from internal enemies, while the army was repelling foreign foes from the frontiers."

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* Adolphus.

Such was the resolution and dignity with which this speech was delivered, together with the justness of the sentiments it offered, that the Assembly remained some time in silent consternation, not believing such boldness could emanate from a sense of rectitude and patriotism, but still supposing that an armed force was the means by which he expected to enforce obedience.

The silence was broken by Guadet. He rose and inveighed against the General for leaving the army, and desired that the minister of war might be inquired of whether he had obtained permission to leave his post, and visit Paris. This produced a debate, and several severe speeches were made by those who would have remained silent, had not Guadet began in the bold manner he did.

But La Fayette defended himself in such a manner as to escape censure.

This attempt of La Fayette, to bring the National Assembly to a sense of their duty, by his own individual exertions, and without the support of an armed force, has been censured as rash and unadvised. But had he brought his army with him, he would have been stigmatized as the author of a civil war; and on the question whether he ought to have gone at all, it may be urged, that the situation of the royal family, his anxiety to preserve the constitution, to suppress the insurrections with which the capital was torn, and to save his country from ruin, were his motives; to effect which, he depended on the justness of his sentiments, and his known patriotism and popularity. La Fayette, finding that the laudable object for which he had undertaken this journey, was not likely to be accomplished, returned to take command of his army.

It was at this period, that the Jacobin club, stimulated by revenge, or apprehension, redoubled their efforts to destroy La Fayette. Jean de Brie came before the Assembly, on the 8th of August, and after producing a report on the General's conduct, he moved a decree of accusation against him. He was supported by Brissot,* who reinforced de Brie's arguments, with all the invention which his talents for falsehood, and his inveterate rancor could supply. La Fayette was defended by several of the members, among whom M. Vaublanc took the lead, and the decree of accusation was negatived by a large majority.

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* John Pierre Brissot, a Frenchman, son of an innkeeper at Chartres, of great natural powers, but of a restless and ambitious soul. Dissatisfied with the political servitude of his country, he for some time engaged in the publication of the Courier de l'Europe, which might disseminate his principles, under pretence of foreign or domestic intelligence; and when this failed, he turned his thoughts towards criminal jurisprudence. His theory of criminal laws appeared, in two vols. 8vo. 1780, with great popularity, and was soon followed by two discourses, which gained the public prize at Chalons sur Marne. In the prosecution of his studies, and after the publication of his philosophical library, he, after going to Geneva and Neufchatel, visited England, whose language, laws and manners, he regarded with affectionate reverence, as diffusive of that liberty which he in vain wished to discover at home. On his return to Paris, 1784, he was committed for a few weeks to the Bastile; and this, probably, tended to inflame his rancor against the abuses and intrigues of monarchy. He was, however, liberated by the influence of the Duke of Orleans, to whose children his wife, of the name of Dupont, had been governess, under the direction and auspices of madam Genlis. Eager to promote happiness in every part of the earth, he instituted, at Paris,

The galleries, during the debate, were filled with the debased rabble of the Jacobin party, who of course, showed their partiality to the accusers; and when his defenders were retiring from the hall, they were surrounded by this rabble, who insulted, hooted, hissed, and even pelted them with stones and dirt. Such was

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a society for the abolition of negro slavery; and more effectually to carry his plans into execution, he passed over to America, to examine the manners and the constitution of that newly emancipated republic. His abode beyond the Atlantic was of short duration. His schemes to establish a colony of Frenchmen, under republican laws, totally failed; but the Revolution at Paris, was an epoch too fruitful in portentous events, and too attractive for his ambitious views, to detain him in America, and he soon appeared in the capital, where he displayed all the abilities of a statesman, a demagogue, and a factious partisan. For a while, he acquired popularity, supported by the gold, the arts and the intrigues of the infamous Orleans, and as the leader of a party called Brissotins or Girondists, because composed of the members of the Gironde; and though violent, he is to be commended, for the mildness which he displayed towards the unfortunate Louis, whose fate he wished to be suspended, till the final consolidation of the republic. The versatility of his talents, could not, however, ensure his safety In the midst of political intrigue and sanguinary faction, he was denounced as the agent of England, by Robespierre and his adherents, and after a mock trial, guillotined, the 30th November, 1793, with his friends and associates. He was in his 39th year. Besides the works enumerated, he wrote, thoughts on the means of attaining truth—letters on the history of England—an examination of the travels of Chatelleux in America, with an account of the country, 3 vols. 8vo.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

their violence, that Vaublanc narrowly escaped assassination.*

This acquittal of La Fayette was a sore disappointment to the Jacobin club. It was not only preserving the life of a man, for whose blood they every one thirsted, and whose influence they had every reason to fear, but it served to shew that their own influence in the Assembly was much less than they expected. Leaving La Fayette, therefore, they plotted the murder of the King and Royal family at once, by raising an insurrection, which should deluge the palace of the Tuileries with blood. This licentious and atheistical league succeeded in seizing the reins of government.

On the night of the 3d of August, Petion, the mayor of the city, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, and demanded the deposition of the King. Petitions to the same import were presented from various quarters. The two great parties in opposition to the crown, the Girondists† and the jacobins, though they differed in many respects, concurred in the expediency of removing the King from the head of government. The Girondists contented themselves with declaring that he had forfeited the crown. But the jacobins were determined to destroy Louis, and abolish the monarchy of France. For this purpose an extensive and most daring conspiracy was formed, at the head of which stood the jacobins, Danton, Conville, Desmoulins, Tallien, Cullot, &c. On the evening of the 9th of August, this bloody club met at the hall of the Cordeliers. Danton, with a loud and furious voice, recapitulated the crimes of the court. "Let us cease," said he, "to appeal to the laws and the legislators; the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of La Fayette, whom they have just absolved. To absolve that traitor is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced Kings.—What do I say? It is this very night which the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage and to the flames, that capital which he wishes once more to leave. To arms! To arms!—"

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* Adolphus.

† Girondists, so called, because they came from Gironde.

Although this speech contained not a word of truth, the cry to arms was the concert, instantly repeated by a thousand tongues. At eleven o'clock, the Assembly declared itself in a state of insurrection, and a musket was fired as a signal for action. The members rushed out, and every one who could, armed himself. Some of the jacobins ordered the bells to be rung, and in a few minutes the dreadful tocsin was sounded throughout Paris, wafting terror and dismay to every department of the castle of the Tuileries.

The royal family knew that they were the object of this dreadful insurrection, and after some hesitation, the King decided on throwing himself and family on the mercy of the Assembly. On entering the hall, Louis said, "I am come here to prevent a great crime;" (meaning his murder;) "among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." After some discussion among the members, the royal family were placed in a box appropriated to the reporters of a newspaper, and here they remained fourteen hours. Scarcely had the King got seated, when a dreadful cannonade shook the Assembly. The insurgents, amounting to 20,000 in number, were provided with thirty pieces of cannon, and marched in battle array to the palace. The palace was defended by 700 Swiss guards; 1,200 gentlemen; 2,400 national guards, and 100 cavalry. At nine on the morning of the 10th, one of the gates of the palace yard was forced, and the mob rushed furiously in, and instantly killed six of the Swiss guards. The guards then fired on the mob, when the assailants applied their matches to the cannon, and a direful conflict took place. Every Swiss soldier in the palace fell a sacrifice to the rage of the assassins. A small party of seventeen of these brave men took refuge in the vestry room of the chapel, and having laid down their arms and asked for mercy, were instantly put to death. Five hundred of the gentlemen sought safety in the Assembly room. But the defenceless victims who still remained in the palace were involved in one promiscuous murder, and the massacre was followed by a general pillage.

While these sanguinary scenes were transacting, the National Assembly continued, as they expressed it, to "deliberate." But their deliberations were no longer free. The Assembly had forced their sovereign to perform acts against his will. The mob, in turn, now forced the Assembly to do whatever was dictated to them from the galleries. Under the guidance of the Jacobin faction, therefore, they passed a decree, declaring the executive power suspended, and the authority given to Louis by the constitution, revoked. A decree of accusation was passed against several of the ministers. A new executive was formed; and among others who came into office, the bloody Danton was appointed minister of justice. Thus in one day, the whole fabric of the French Constitution, which had been erected by some of the ablest men the kingdom ever produced, was crumbled into dust, by a licentious and sanguinary populace.

La Fayette, who was amongst the first to oppose the despotism of the court, was equally adverse to the tyranny of the Jacobins; and no sooner had the intelligence of this horrible massacre at Paris reached his head quarters at Sedan, than he addressed the following letter to his soldiers:

"Citizen Soldiers,

"It is no longer proper to conceal from you what is going forward: the constitution you swore to maintain, is no more; a banditti from Marseilles, and a troop of factious men besieged the palace of the Tuileries; the national and Swiss guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to surrender.

" General d'Affry, his aids-de-camp, and his whole family were murdered.

" The King, Queen, and all the royal family escaped to the National Assembly; the factious run thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the King, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

" Citizens, you are no longer represented; the National Assembly is in a state of slavery: your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton and his satellites are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will restore the hereditary representative to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your King."

La Fayette then attempted to renew the oath to the Constitution in his army, but was mortified to find that many of his officers rejected it, and that there was a spreading defection among the soldiers.

At Paris, amidst the confusion and horrors of the 10th of August, La Fayette was not forgotten. All busts and pictures of him were destroyed. A celebrated artist, employed by the French mint, had been engaged to engrave a medal, with an inscription in honour of him, who was called the Washington of France. But the reign of terror had now commenced; the Jacobins ruled the nation; and every memorial of so strenuous a supporter of the Constitution was of course destroyed. The unfinished medal was obtained of the engraver, and by a decree of the Common Council was broken in pieces by the common executioner.

The streets of Paris echoed with clamours and reproaches against him, and three commissioners were sent by the National Assembly to arrest him at Sedan, where he remained at the head of his army. La Fayette, being apprised of their design, caused them to be arrested, immediately on their arrival. This circumstance, together with a letter he wrote to the Municipality of Paris, and his address to the army, given above, excited the most terrible indignation among the Jacobins, and prompted the most violent resolutions against him. He was denounced in the National Assembly, and Danton and Brissot had the extreme satisfaction of procuring a decree of accusation to be passed against him in that body. New commissioners were appointed, and despatched to apprehend him, his property was confiscated, a price was set on his head, and all citizens were charged to assist in apprehending him, and were authorized to kill him wherever he should be found. Finding that no reliance could be placed on his army for protection, but that defection and desertion, through the influence of the Jacobin terror, were increasing; being informed, also, that a riotous attempt was preparing to set the commissioners free, and seeing, under such circumstances, no prospect of benefiting his country, La Fayette decided on flight as the only means of saving his life.

With this intention, he invited three of his friends, Generals Latour Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and the Commandant of engineers, Bureau de Puzy, to come to his tent at midnight, on the 19th of August. They there deliberated on their critical situation. To march upon Paris, and attempt to crush the Jacobin faction, would be to expose themselves and their troops, to certain destruction. To remain where they were, with the foreign enemy on one side, and the factious of the country on the other, was equally hazardous. To treat with the enemy was regarded as unworthy and impracticable. It was then decided, that they would leave an ungrateful country, governed by a faction, which sought for their blood, and that they would cross Brabant, and reach Holland, from whence they would embark for the United States of America.*

Early the next day, La Fayette, accompanied by his three friends, who had been members of the National Assembly with him, and who alone were in the secret, together with their aids de camp, and a part of their staff, set off on horseback, as if to reconnoitre. Having arrived at an inn, two or three leagues from the camp, they dismounted and entered the house, placing sentinels at the door, to prevent a surprise from the enemy's patroles. Gen. La Fayette then confided to these officers, 23 in number, the state of the country, the feelings of the army ; the before unknown facts, that the Jacobin society, and the municipality of Paris, had devoted him to proscription, that the Corporation of the same city had caused the dies of the medal, which was to have been struck to his honour, to be broken by the hands of the common executioner, and that he was declared to be an enemy to his country, and a price was set upon his head. He finished, by informing them of his determination to quit the country for a time, and that he should consider as his enemy any man who should propose to march against her.

Notwithstanding this injunction, these young soldiers unanimously declared, that there was but one way left, to save their country, and their General, which was, to march directly to Paris, and disperse the Jacobin faction at once. But the General soon convinced them, that such a step ought not to be thought of, and as none of them had been proscribed except himself, he thought that all had better return peaceably and immediately to the camp, lest their absence should excite suspicion. But notwithstanding all his remonstrances to the contrary, several of them determined to leave the country, and share the fate of their General, whatever it might be. These young men were the two Maubourgs, Bureau de Puzy, Lameth, Masson, Rene, Pillet and Cardingan. His faithful valet, Pontennier, and Augustus, one of his servants, who afterwards voluntarily shared all his imprisonments from Luxemburg to Olmutz, asked the liberty to follow their master. The rest were persuaded to return, and take with them La Fayette's escort, consisting of 150 cavalry.

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* These particulars are taken from Gen. Holstein's work, who cites Gen. La Fayette as his authority.

La Fayette then set out with his seven companions, harassed with the most trying reflections upon his own situation, that of his family and country, and upon the danger which threatened him. After a rapid and uninterrupted journey, they arrived, towards night, in the neighbourhood of an advanced guard of the Austrian army. Here they halted, and deliberated upon the steps to be taken. It was near eleven o'clock at night, none of them knew the road, and the darkness was such as to make it impossible to find it. In this state of embarrassment, rendered more so from the fear that the French were in pursuit of them, they determined at all hazards to proceed, and, without discovering their names, or rank, to demand permission of the Austrian commander to pass him, with the intention of taking refuge in Holland, at that time a neutral territory. This resolution being taken, Col. de Puzy, the only individual of the party who spoke German, advanced towards the Austrian officer, who received him very politely. He informed him, that he and his companions had deserted from the French army, finding themselves compelled to leave the country, in consequence of intrigue and faction, and that they desired a safe passage into Holland. The officer expressed his regret, that he was unable to give a decided answer, without first consulting his superior; but that, in the meantime, he and his friends were welcome to rest and take refreshments in his tent, as the night was stormy. De Puzy having returned and made his report, they set out for the Austrian head quarters, and finally were conducted to Luxemburg.

Immediately on their arrival at this fortress, they were recognized by a crowd of refugees, who, looking on La Fayette as one of the first promoters of the Revolution, treated them with the utmost insolence and contempt. Among the most virulent of these enraged emigrants, was Prince de Lambes, who rendered himself notorious by his abuse of La Fayette.

As soon as the Governour of Luxemburg recognized La Fayette, he confined each of the party in separate rooms, at the inn where they had stopped, and placed sentinels at their doors. They protested in vain against these proceedings, and wrote to the Duke of Saxe Tschen, for the purpose of gaining their release, and obtaining passports. His refusal was accompanied with a savage and useless threat of a public execution ; and they remained in a state of close confinement, until the Governour of Luxemburg received orders from the court of Vienna to deliver them into the hands of the King of Prussia. They were transported in a common cart, like criminals, under a strong escort of cavalry, during the night, from Luxemburg to Wesel, being confined in the common gaols of the country, whenever it was found necessary to stop. La Fayette's valet, only, was permitted to ride in the cart with his master. The Austrians sold their horses and arms, and retained the money.

At Wesel, the populace were permitted to insult them in the most savage manner. Here they were put in irons, placed in separate cells in the castle, deprived of all intercourse with each other, and told, that the King intended to have them hanged, as wretches who deserved no favour. From Wesel, they were again transported in a cart to Magdeburg, where they were confined a year in a dark, subterranean dungeon, and during this time, all information from their families was denied them.

The King of Prussia now ordered La Fayette to be transported to Silesia ; Gen. Maubourg solicited and obtained permission to accompany him. Here they were confined until about the period when a peace was settled between France and Prussia, when they were delivered up to the Austrian government, and were conveyed to Olmutz.*

"Here they were informed, as they were incarcerated in separate cells, that they would never again see any thing but the four walls of their prison house, that they would never again hear a human voice ; their very names were proscribed, and that in future they would be designated in despatches to government by the numbers of their respective cells ; and lest they should destroy themselves, knives, forks, and every thing that could be used for that purpose, would be interdicted."

"The three prisoners,† they abandoned to their miserable reflections, were immured in the dungeons of the ancient castle of the Jesuits, the walls of which were twelve feet thick, and into which air is admitted, through an opening two feet square, which is secured at each end by transverse massive iron bars. Immediately before these loop-holes was a broad ditch, which was covered with water only when it rained, and at other times, was a stagnant marsh, from which a poisonous effluvium was constantly exhaling; and beyond this, were the outer walls of the castle, which prevented the slightest breeze from passing to the captives. On these outer walls were in the day-time four, and in the night eight sentinels, with loaded muskets, constantly watching the prisoners, and forbidden, on pain of one hundred lashes, to speak a word with them, and with orders to shoot them dead, if they attempted to escape. The cellar of this castle had a large saloon, two hundred feet long, and twelve wide, in which was kept a guard, consisting of an officer and twenty-five men, and a corporal and four soldiers, who alternately kept guard before the door of the prisoners. These soldiers, while on duty, were forbidden either to speak, sing, or whistle.

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* Olmutz, or Holomautz, is the capital of Moravia, in Austria. It stands on the river March, which nearly surrounds the town. It is strongly fortified, well built, and contains about 11,000 inhabitants. Its longitude E. is 17 deg. 8 min. and its latitude N. is 49 deg. 37 min. being 100 miles N. N. E. from Vienna, and 130 miies S. E. from Prague.

† Maubourg and de Puzy, only, went to Silesia with La Fayette. Lameth was left at Magdeburg, sick.

"As this castle had served as a prison for four years previously to La Fayette's confinement, there had been constructed for each cell two doors, one of iron, and the other of wood, near two feet thick. Both were covered with bolts and bars and double padlocks. Every time the inspector of the prison entered, the whole guard stood to their arms. Four men were posted on each side of the door, the sergeant, with his sword drawn, remained without, while the officer of the guard entered the inner door, with his sword also drawn. The men crossed their bayonets, while the inspector examined every corner of their cells with the greatest minuteness. When the gaoler entered, with their wretched pittance, twice a day, it was scrupulously examined, particularly the bread, which was crumbled to pieces by the officer of the guard, to discover if there was any note or communication contained in it. A wretched bed of rotten straw, filled with vermin, together with a broken chair and an old table, formed the whole furniture of each apartment.

The cells were eight or ten paces deep, and six or eight wide; and when it rained, the water ran through the loop-holes, off the walls, in such quantities, that the prisoners would sometimes find themselves in the morning wet to the skin."

Such is the shocking account given by Gen. Ducondray Holstein, and as he states, on the verbal authority of the prisoners themselves.

The sufferings of La Fayette in this dreary abode, brought him to the borders of the grave. "His frame was wasted by disease, of which, for a long period, not the slightest notice was taken; and, on one occasion, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell from him entirely, by the excess of his sufferings. At the same time, his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and *Fayettisme*, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death."*

But a man so distinguished in the world, and so endeared to the friends of civil liberty, though shut up in a dungeon, and deprived of communication with human beings, was not forgotten. The American ministers to foreign courts, were instructed to intercede for his liberation. The Envoy from the United States to the court of St. James, exerted himself for the same purpose. The Count Lally Tolendal, who sat with La Fayette in the National Assembly, and who admired his principles and his virtues, also made unwearied exertions to effect his enlargement. Washington, when President of the United States, wrote to the Emperor of Austria a private letter, laying La Fayette's case before him, and requesting his permission, that he might be liberated, and come to America. The following is a part of that letter.

"It will readily occur to your Majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation at present, I have taken the liberty of writing this private letter to your Majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

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* North American Review.

"In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de La Fayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathize with him and his family in their misfortunes; and endeavour to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

"I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your Majesty's consideration, whether the long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion, to be its organ; and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions as your Majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

"As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your Majesty will do me the justice to believe that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory."

To this humane and magnanimous request, his Majesty the emperor either returned no answer at all, or such an one as made Washington understand that he declined setting his prisoner at liberty, or negotiating further on the subject.

In 1793, count Lally Tolendal, then in London, engaged Dr. Bollman, a Hanoverian of great sagacity, courage and perseverance, to attempt the liberation of La Fayette. Dr. Bollman had before been employed by Madame de Stael, to effect the escape of Count Norbonne from France, who in the reign of terror had been proscribed. This he had performed, having with uncommon address conveyed the Count to England. But Dr. Bollman's first attempt was so unsuccessful, that after all his exertions, he did little more than to ascertain that the government of Prussia had delivered La Fayette over to that of Austria. But where he was, or whether he was still alive, were circumstances which Dr. Bollman found it impossible to ascertain. He therefore returned again to London, and reported to the friends of the prisoner the little information he had obtained.

" But the friends of La Fayette were not discouraged. In June, 1794, they again sent Dr. Bollman to Germany, to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavour to procure his escape. With great difficulty he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontier, and then ascertained, that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmutz." " At Olmutz Dr. Bollman ascertained that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half fabulous personage in the iron mask."*

The following interesting account of Dr. Bollman's second visit to the continent, and his attempt to deliver La Fayette, is extracted from the " Edinburgh Annual Register," for 1809. The only alteration made, is a correction in the spelling of the name of the principal actor, which is there spelled Balman.

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* North American Review.

[" This interesting narraitve," says the Editor, " was drawn up by the writer from personal communications with Mr. Huger. We pledge ourselves for its authenticity. The brief account, contained in the Appendix to Segur's History of Frederick William II., is very inaccurate.]"

" Amongst the many extraordinary characters which the eventful times we live in have produced to the notice of the world, no man has undergone greater vicissitudes of fortune than La Fayette. At one time we behold him tearing himself from the fascinations of the most licentious court in Europe, braving the elements in search of the bubble reputation, and combating for the cause of liberty under the banners of Washington ; at another, sowing the seeds of confusion in his native country, idolized by an enthusiastic populace, and raised to the chief command of his emancipated countrymen : then proscribed and hunted by those associates who no longer stood in need of his assistance : a fugitive in a foreign land, obliged to seek an asylum amongst his enemies : and lastly, seized as a traitor, and delivered up to the Emperor of Germany ; who, regarding him as one of the chief instruments of the insulting degradation and subsequent death of the royal family of France, ordered him into close confinement in the castle at Olmutz. Compassion for his fate drew petitions from all quarters for his release. The Emperor was inexorable, and La Fayette had dragged on two miserable years in his solitary prison, when a stranger and a foreigner stepped forward from pure motives of compassion, and an anxious wish to be of service to a man who had so signalized himself in the cause of liberty. Bollman was a Hanoverian by birth, young, active, intrepid, and intelligent. He repaired alone and on foot to Olmutz to gain such information as might enable him to judge of the best means to execute the purpose he had in view, to assist Fayette in making his escape from the power of Austria. He soon found that, without an able coadjutor, the difficulties which presented themselves were insurmountable. He was forced, therefore, for the present to abandon his design until he should be so fortunate as to find a man equally zealous with himself, and with ability sufficient to execute the hazardous plan he had formed. Accident threw in his way the person in the world best suited to the enterprize by nature and education. At Vienna, he entered into the society of young Americans, whom he thought most likely, from their veneration for the character of Fayette, to dare such an undertaking. He soon singled out one, to whom, after proper precautions, he imparted his secret. Huger entered into and adopted his schemes with all the keenness of youth, and that enthusiastic enterprize peculiar to the inhabitants of the new world.

Francis Huger was the son of Colonel Huger of Charleston, South Carolina, who lost his life in the service of his country against the British troops on the walls of the town, when besieged by Gen. Prevost. The year before his death, he had retired to a small island off the Charleston bar, with his family, for the benefit of sea bathing. There happened one evening a violent storm, the report of cannon was heard at a distance ; concluding the firing came from British ships, then cruising in those seas, it was necessary to avoid giving suspicion that the island was inhabited. About midnight a knocking at the door of the cottage obliged Col. Huger to open it. Two persons appeared, who, in a foreign accent, informed him that their ship had been driven on shore by the violence of the wind, and the crew had dispersed themselves over the island in search of assistance.— They were hospitably received, and provided with such necessaries as they most stood in need of.— When the strangers were made acquainted with the quality of their host, and his political principles, they made themselves and the object of their voyage known to him. The one was the Marquis de la Fayette, then about eighteen, and the other an elderly gentleman, a Chevalier de St. Louis, who, like another Mentor, had followed the fortunes of the young Telemachus. "They beheld," they said, "with indignation, the tyranny the inhabitants of North America laboured under from the mother country; and, animated with the true spirit of liberty, they were resolved to espouse the cause of the Congress, and either partake with them the happiness of emancipation, or perish with them in the glorious effort." Colonel Huger quitted the island with his guests, and, repairing to head quarters, introduced them to General Washington, who gave each of them a command in the continental army. Francis Huger was only four years old when this happened, but the adventure remained deeply impressed on his memory; and though he had never seen Fayette since, yet he felt the greatest attachment to his person, and the highest admiration of his actions; with ardor, therefore, he participated in Bollman's scheme for the release of his favourite hero.

Thus agreed, they began their operations. It was necessary to conduct themselves with caution, for the Austrian police was vigilant, and particularly jealous of strangers. Huger pretended ill health, and Bollman gave himself out for a physician, who on that account travelled with him. They bought three of the best horses they could find, and with one servant set forwards on a tour. After travelling many weeks, staying some time at different places, the better to conceal their purpose, and to confirm the idea that curiosity was the motive of their journey, they at length reached Olmutz. After viewing every thing in the town, they walked into the castle to see the fortifications, made themselves acquainted with the jailor, and having desired permission to walk within the castle the next day, they returned to their lodging. They repeated their visits frequently, each time conversing familiarly with the jailor, and sometimes making him little presents. By degrees they gained his confidence, and one day, as if by accident, asked him what prisoners he had under his care. He mentioned the name of Fayette; without discovering any surprise, they expressed a curiosity to know how he passed his time, and what indulgences he enjoyed: They were informed that he was strictly confined, but was permitted to take exercise without the walls with proper attendants, and, besides, was allowed the use of books, and pen, ink, and paper. They said, that, as they had some new publications with them, it might add to his amusement if they were to lend them to him, and desired to know if they might make the offer. The jailor said he thought there could be no objection, provided the books were delivered open to him (the jailor,) so that he might see there was nothing improper in their contents. With this caution they complied, and the same evening sent a book and a note to the jailor, addressed to Fayette, written in French; who, though he did not understand that language (as it afterwards appeared,) yet did not suspect any treachery where every thing was conducted so openly. The note contained apologies for the liberty they had taken; but, as they wished in any way to contribute to his happiness, they hoped he would attentively read the book they had sent, and if any passages in it particularly engaged his notice, they begged he would let them know his opinion. He received the note, and finding it was not expressed in the usual mode of complimentary letters, conceived that more was meant than met the eye. He therefore carefully perused the book, and found in certain places words written with a pencil, which, being put together, acquainted him with the names, qualities, and designs of the writers, and requiring his sentiments before they should proeeed any further. He returned the book, and with it an open note, thanking them, and adding, that he highly approved of, and was much charmed with, its contents.

Having thus begun a correspondence, seldom a day passed but open notes passed between them, some of which the jailor shewed to persons who could read them; but, as nothing appeared that could create any suspicion, the correspondence was permitted.

Their plan being at length arranged, the particulars were written with lemon juice, and on the other side of the paper a letter of inquiries after Fayette's health, concluding with these words: Quand vous aurez lu ce billet, mettez le *au* feu (instead of *dans le* feu.) By holding the paper to the fire, the letters appeared, and he was made acquainted with every arrangement they had made. The day following was fixed upon to put the plan in execution. The city of Olmutz is situated about thirty miles from the frontiers of Silesia, in the midst of a plain, which, taking the town as its centre, extends three miles each way. The plain is bounded by rising ground, covered with bushes and broken rocks; so that a man standing on the walls might distinctly see every thing that passed on the plain. Sentinels were placed for the purpose of giving an alarm when any prisoner was attempting to escape, and all people were ordered to assist in retaking him: great rewards were likewise due to the person who arrested a prisoner. It seemed therefore scarcely possible to succeed in such an attempt. Aware of these difficulties, Bollman and Huger were not intimidated, but took their measures with the greater caution.

Under pretence that his health required air and exercise, Fayette had obtained permission to ride out upon the plain every day in an open cabriolet, accompanied by an officer, and attended by an armed soldier, who mounted behind by way of guard. During these excursions he had gained the confidence of the officer so far, that when the carriage was at a distance from the walls they used to quit it, and walk together.

The plan determined upon was this; Bollman and Huger were to ride out of town on horseback, the latter leading a third horse; as neither of them knew Fayette, a signal was agreed upon at their meeting. Fayette was to endeavour to gain as great a distance as possible from the town, and, as usual, to quit the carriage with the officer, and draw him imperceptibly as far from it as he could, without exciting his suspicions. The two friends were then to approach, and, if necessary, to overpower the officer, mount Fayette upon the horse Huger led, and ride away full speed to Bautropp, 15 miles distant, where a chaise and horses awaited to convey them to Trappaw, the nearest town within the Prussian dominions, about 30 miles from Olmutz, where they would be safe from pursuit. In the morning, Huger sent his trusty servant to endeavour to learn the precise time that Fayette left the castle. After a tedious delay, he returned, and told them that the carriage had just passed the gates. With agitated hearts they set out; having gained the plain, they could perceive no carriage; they rode slowly on, till they had nearly reached the woody country, but still no carriage appeared. Alarmed lest some unforeseen accident should have led to a discovery, they hesitated; but, recollecting that their motions might be distinctly seen from the walls, they retraced their steps, and had arrived at a short distance from the town, when they beheld the long wished for cabriolet pass through the gates, with two persons in it, one in the Austrian uniform, and a musqueteer mounted behind. On passing, they gave the preconcerted signal, which was returned, and the carriage moved on. They continued their ride towards the town, then turned, and slowly followed the carriage. They loitered, in order to give Fayette time to execute his part of the agreement. They observed the two gentlemen descend from the carriage, and walk from it arm in arm. They approached gradually, and perceiving that Fayette and the officer appeared to be engaged in earnest conversation about the officer's sword, which Fayette had at the time in his hand, they thought this the favourable moment, and put spurs to their horses. The noise of their approach alarmed the officer, who, turning round, and seeing two horsemen coming up full gallop, he hastened to join the cabriolet, pulling Fayette with him; finding resistance, he endeavoured to get possession of his sword, and a struggle ensued. Huger arrived at this moment; "You are free, said he; seize this horse, and fortune be our guide." He had scarce spoken when the gleam of the sun upon the blade of the sword startled the horse, he broke his bridle, and fled precipitately over the plain. Bollman rode after to endeavour to take him. Meantime Huger, with a gallantry and generosity seldom equalled, but never excelled, insisted on Fayette's mounting his horse, and making all speed to the place of rendezvous: "Lose no time, the alarm is given, the peasants are assembling, save yourself." Fayette mounted his horse, left Huger on foot, and was soon out of sight. Bollman had in vain pursued the frightened horse, and perceiving he had taken the road to the town, gave up the chase, and returned to Huger, who got up behind him, and they galloped away together. They had not gone far when the horse, unequal to such a burthen, stumbled and fell, and Bollman was so bruised with the fall, that with difficulty he could rise from the ground. The gallant Huger assisted his friend upon the horse, and again forgetting all selfish considerations, desired him to follow and assist Fayette, and leave him to make his escape on foot, which he said he could easily do, as he was a good runner, and the woody country was close at hand. Bollman with reluctance consented. Upon the approach of the horsemen, the soldier who had remained with the cabriolet, instead of coming to the assistance of the officer, ran back to the town; but long before he arrived the alarm was given; for the whole of the transaction had been observed from the walls,—the cannon fired, and the country was raised. Bollman easily evaded his pursuers, by telling them he was himself in pursuit. Huger was not so fortunate; he had been marked by a party, who never lost sight of him; yet his hunters being on foot like himself, he might have reached his covert, had they not been joined by others who were fresh in the chase: they gained ground upon him, and at the moment he had reached a place where he hoped he might rest awhile, quite exhausted with fatigue and breathless he sunk to the earth, and a peasant came up—he offered him his purse to assist his escape; the Austrian snatched the money with one hand, and seized him with the other, calling to his companions to come to his help. Resistance was vain, and the intrepid Huger was conveyed back to Olmutz in triumph, inwardly consoling himself with the glorious idea, that he had been the cause of rescuing from tyranny and misery a man he esteemed one of the first characters upon earth. He was shut up in a dungeon of the castle as a state prisoner.

Meanwhile Fayette took the road he was directed, and arrived without any obstacle at a small town about ten miles from Olmutz: here the road divided; that leading to Trappaw lay to the right, unfortunately he took the left. He had scarce left the town, when perceiving the road turning too much to the left, he suspected he had mistaken his way, and inquired of a person he met the way to Bautropp. The man, eyeing him with a look of curiosity, at length told him he had missed his way, but directed him to take another, which he said would soon lead him right. This man, from Fayette's appearance, his horse in a foam, his foreign accent, and the inquiries he made, suspected him to be a prisoner making his escape; he therefore directed him a road which by a circuit led him back to the town, ran himself to the magistrate, and told him his suspicions; so that when Fayette thought himself upon the point of regaining the road which would soon secure his retreat, he found himself surrounded by a guard of armed men, who, regardless of his protestations, conveyed him to the magistrate. He was however so collected, that he gave the most plausible answers to the interrogations that were put to him: he said he was an officer of excise belonging to Trappaw, and that having friends at Olmutz, he had been there upon a visit; had been detained there by indisposition longer than he intended, and, as his time of leave of absence was expired, he was hastening back, and begged he might not be detained, for if he did not reach Trappaw that day, he was afraid his absence might be noticed, and he should lose his office. The magistrate was so much prepossessed in his favour by this account, and by the readiness of his answers to every question, that he expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and was going to dismiss him, when the door of an inner room opened, and a young man entered with papers for the magistrate to sign. While this was doing the young man fixed his eyes upon Fayette, and immediately whispered the magistrate: "Who do you say he is?" "The General La Fayette." "How do you know him?" "I was present when the General was delivered up by the Prussians to the Austrians at ——; this is the man, I cannot be mistaken."

Fayette entreated to be heard. The magistrate told him it was useless for him to speak; he must consent immediately to be conveyed to Olmutz, and his identity would then be ascertained. Dismayed and confounded, he submitted to his hard fate, was carried back to Olmutz, and the same day which rose to him with the fairest prospects of happiness and liberty, beheld him at the close of it plunged in still deeper misery and imprisonment. Bollman, having eluded the search of his pursuers, arrived at the place where the chaise had been ordered to wait their coming. Finding it still there, and yet no appearance of Fayette, he foreboded mischief. With as much patience as he could command, he remained till evening, not yet giving up all hopes of a fortunate issue to their adventure. He dismissed the chaise, however, and made a circuitous journey, in hopes his friends might have escaped by a different route; but could gain no information whatever, till, on the third day, a rumour of Fayette having been retaken in attempting his escape, dissipated his hopes; and, anxious to learn the truth, he took the road to Olmutz. He soon was told the melancholy tale, with the addition, that his friend Huger had shared a similar fate. In despair at having been the primary cause of his misfortune, and determining to share it with him, he voluntarily surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the castle.

Thus, by a train of most untoward accidents, which no prudence could foresee or guard against, failed a plan so long meditated, and so skilfully projected.—The reader's attention must now be confined chiefly to Huger. The day after his entrance into the castle, Huger received notice from the jailor to prepare for an examination before the chief magistrate of the city. As he was not conscious of having committed any very heinous crime, he was under no apprehensions for his life; but expected that, after he had told his story, and declared the motive of his actions, his judge might subject him to some slight punishment, perhaps a short imprisonment: what then was his amazement, when he heard himself accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the Austrian government.

The examination was carried on by means of an interpreter, a young man of a benign aspect, who seemed to compassionate his situation, and who, when he gave such answers as he thought might tend to hurt his cause, made him repeat his answers, softening their import, assuring him that he did not exactly express himself in proper terms, and desiring him to recollect whether he did not mean to answer in such and such a manner. Huger saw his good intentions, and determined to rely on his judgment, especially after he had heard him say in a low voice, "I am your friend." After this, and many subsequent examinations, the magistrates informed him he must not expect pardon, but advised him to prepare for the worst. This exhortation, so often repeated, began to have some effect upon him, and considering he was in the power of an absolute monarch, whose will was superior to law, he could not shake off some melancholy presages. His place of confinement was a loathsome dungeon, without light; he was fed with the coarsest food; chained to the floor during the night; his own clothes taken from him, and others sent him that had already been worn by many an unfortunate prisoner. Thus he dragged on the first three months of his confinement. After that time, he was removed to a better room, into which glimmered a borrowed light; better clothes, and more wholesome food were given him, and his circumstances, in every respect, were improved. But still he was uncertain as to his fate, and the jailer was the only human being that visited him. One day he was surprised with the appearance of his young friend the interpreter, Mr. W——. Nothing could exceed his joy at once more beholding a kindly human face. He informed Huger, that the court of Austria had believed that all the garrison of Olmutz had been engaged in the conspiracy; that many people had been arrested upon suspicion; for it could not be believed, that two such young men as he and Bollman could have formed and executed so daring a plan without the aid of others; but as no proofs had hitherto appeared, it was determined to bring them shortly to trial, and for that purpose, lawyers were to be sent from Vienna, to assist the magistrates of the city. Huger now for the first time, learned the complete failure of their scheme, and that Bollman was under the same roof with him.

However sad the reflection was, that his friend's sufferings equalled his own, yet he could not express the joy he felt at being so near him. Soon after, he discovered, that he inhabited the room above him. Thenceforward his treatment was much less rigorous; even the jailer, who till lately, had observed a profound silence, relaxed his caution, and came frequently to visit him; and though a man of few words, yet as his presence broke the dreary solitude, he felt happy whenever he made his appearance. Many were the experiments he tried to hold communication with Bollman, and at length he succeeded.

He discovered that the window which threw a borrowed light into his cell, served likewise to throw light into that of Bollman. He picked a piece of lime from the wall, and with it scratched a few words upon a black silk handkerchief he wore about his neck; then fixing it upon a stick, he climbed up the side of the room, and raised the stick as near the common window as he could, till it had attracted the attention of Bollman, who, after many efforts, made himself master of it, and returned an answer by the same method. Delighted with having overcome this difficulty, they never suffered a day to pass without some communication. To W—— they were indebted for the means of rendering their situation still more comfortable, by engaging the jailer's wife in their interest; a few presents, and now and then a small piece of money, induced her secretly to bring them books, food, wine and warmer clothes; and at length to procure a meeting between the two friends, at first short, but by degrees become more hardy, they were permitted to pass some part of every day together. The following is an extraact of a letter written by Huger by a near friend and relation, which, as it describes his situation and feelings in a forcible manner, ought not to be omitted.

"I am equally ignorant how this affair may have been represented, or what may be thought in these times, of an attempt to deliver M. de La Fayette.—The motives which, however, induced me to engage in it cannot be judged by those who examine all similar enterprises according to their success or failure. Believe me, it was neither unreasonably undertaken, nor rashly executed, but failed from accidents which prudence could not foresee. To the mortification of a failure were added the miseries of a prison, which, in Austria, exceed any thing known in England. In a small room, just long enough for my bed of straw, with eight-pence a day for my support; at night chained to the ground, and without books or light, I passed the first three months of my captivity. After this time my situation became gradually better, but I was not allowed to write to my friends, to be delivered from my chains, or permitted the smallest intercourse with the world, till a fortnight before my release.

"In such a situation, the consciousness alone of having done nothing dishonest or dishonourable, could afford that internal satisfaction, and inspire that stern patience, necessary to support calmly so sudden and severe a reverse of fortune; but it has convinced me, that a mind at peace with itself, can in no situation be unhappy. Daily habit also soon removed the unpleasant sensations excited by disagreeable and unaccustomed objects, and the mind, which no power can restrain, will always derive censolation from hope, and rarely want some subject to be actively employed upon. My friend and companion, Mr. Bollman, was in the same house, and our efforts to establish some communication, or to procure a momentary interview, afforded exercise for invention; and, in proportion to the difficulty of effecting our wishes, the smallest success rewarded days of projects and expectation. I once, also, found means to disengage myself from my chains, and felt an emotion beyond the power of words to describe. The slave, liberated by the bounty of his master, experiences nothing similar to it; he feels obligation for a favour conferred; but a person formerly free, breaking the chain of tyranny and oppression, has the double enjoyment of overcoming his enemy, and regaining his liberty by his own exertions. Mine was but ideal, for I was still surrounded by walls and sentinels: it was an event which might be of such consequence that I did not permit the reality to interrupt the happiness it afforded me: and I probably felt more enjoyment at that moment, than in general one half of the world ever experienced in their lives, even those possessing freedom, wealth, and friends. My long captivity has not then been wholly miserable, nor without some pleasure."

At length, at the end of seven months, they were informed that the crown lawyers were arrived. The government by this time was satisfied, that the attempt to liberate La Fayette was planned independently by two adventurers, and that it was not a plot laid by the secret agents of France, in which the garrison of Olmutz at least was concerned, if it were not more widely extended; and upon their trial, the sole fact of having attempted to rescue a state prisoner was alleged against them.

This fact being proved, they were remanded to their prison, to await the sentence which was to be pronounced against them by the supreme magisirate.—They were now, however, permitted every indulgence but liberty. It was some days before they heard from W——, and when he came, they were astonished and confounded to hear from him that their punishment was intended to be, imprisonment for life. He however consoled them by hinting, that if they could by any means procure money, this sentence might be changed to one much less severe, as it remained with the magistrate to pass what sentence he thought proper, or even to release them entirely. Bollman had no fortune, and as Huger had no credit in Austria, it would be a long time before he could receive a remittance from London. W——, their guardian angel, promised to do all he could for them.

In the vicinity of Olmutz resided a Russian nobleman, of most polished manners, joined to the greatest benevolence of heart. With him W—— enjoyed a perfect intimacy and friendship; they were congenial souls. W—— had made him acquainted with the whole of their story; through him he had been able to administer so frequently to their comfort; and he now nobly offered to advance them whatever money they might want to accomplish their release, and to defray their expenses to Hamburgh. Having thus removed the greatest difficulty, his next care was to sound the sentiments of the magistrate. This he could easily effect, as, in the capacity of interpreter, he had constant communication with him. He soon discerned that the magistrate was not averse to his speaking in their favour; and when he artfully insinuated that a large reward would certainly attend his declaring himself inclined to pardon, he found he was listened to with more attention. Having gained this point, he very soon came to an eclaircissement. The magistrate made an exorbitant demand; W—— said it was useless for him to go to the prisoners with such terms, and, as he knew exactly the state of their finances, he could at once mention what they had to give, and therefore the utmost he could expect. This sum was fifty pieces. He refused to comply for less than a hundred. In answer to this, W—— desired him to consider, that if he delayed his determination he might lose his prize altogether, for that great interest was making at Vienna for the release of the prisoners, which he had no doubt would succeed, as, amongst others, the English and American ambassadors had exerted themselves in their favour. This *upright* magistrate at last yielded to the impulse of avarice, and agreed that, if the prisoners would send him the money before they left the prison, they should be released the next day. To this he answered, that they were so distrustful of all about them, that he was certain they would rather await the result of the petition at Vienna, than part with their little stock of money at an uncertainty, but added, that he himself would become their security, and be answerable to him for the money in case they did not pay it. To this he agreed, and W—— was authorised to negotiate with the prisoners. All matters being soon settled, the term of their imprisonment was first fixed at fourteen years, then shortened to seven, soon after to one, then to a month, and lastly to a week; at the expiration of which they were released from prison. They immediately repaired to the house of the magistrate, to return him thanks for the many indulgences he had allowed them, and upon shaking hands with him, the stipulated sum was put into his hands. It is not to be supposed they made a long stay at Olmutz; no longer than was necessary to pour out their grateful acknowledgments to the Russian nobleman, and above all, to the noble-minded, generous W——, to whose kindness they owed all the comforts they had experienced in prison, and to whose friendly and humane exertions they were ultimately indebted for their liberation.

" La Fayette, in the meantime, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated except with his life. During the winter of 1794-5, he was reduced to almost the last extremity by a violent fever; and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe that he was reserved for public execution, and that his chivalrous deliverers had already perished on a scaffold; while at the same time he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, of which, during the time he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts."

" Madame La Fayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to have been possible. She [with her two daughters] had been released from prison, where she too had nearly perished; and having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of General Washington, she sat out accompanied by her two young daughters, all in disguise, with American passports.—They were landed at Altona, and proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience with the Emperor, who refused to liberate La Fayette, but as it now seems probable, against the intentions of his ministers, gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmutz; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should pass its threshold, never again to leave it.

" Madame La Fayette's health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe purer air, and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned; and then she was told that no objection would be made to leaving her husband, but that if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination to share his captivity in all its details. Madame de Stael has well observed, when on this part of the history of the French Revolution: " Antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General La Fayette, his wife and daughters, in the prison of Olmutz."

" One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of La Fayette, and it was made in the place and in the way that might have been expected. When the Emperor of Austria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame La Fayette, he told her that 'his hands were tied.' In this remark, the Emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore, his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies, in the war against France.

"England was one of these allies, and therefore, General Fitzpatrick, in the House of Commons, on the 16th of December, 1796, made a motion for an inquiry into the case. He was supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought La Fayette in Virginia, by Wilberforce, and by Fox, but the motion was lost. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it. A solemn and vehement discussion, on La Fayette's imprisonment, in which the Emperor of Austria had no apologist, had been held, in the face of all Europe, and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings in the most solemn and authentic way.*†

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* North American Review.

† From the following debate on the question, whether the British Government would interfere in the fate of La Fayette, it would seem, that although he was then in the hands of the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia was master of his destiny.

"Gen. Fitzpatrick observed, that the disapprobation shown by the Minister on a former night, when it had been mentioned in the House, that the King of Prussia refused to liberate Monsieur de la Fayette, and three other state prisoners, on the ground that they were the prisoners of the allied powers, was sufficient to exempt the character of the British nation from the odium of having any share in so execrable a transaction. He thought, however, that humanity, justice and policy, required an interference from this country, in behalf of this unfortunate man. The General entered into a very able review of the whole conduct of Monsieur de la Fayette, the greater part of which has been detailed in our volumes for 1791 and 1792—his firm attachment to the constitution of 1789, which had been approved by this country—his loyalty, which was proved by the most signal

The writer of the article from which the above extract is made, is mistaken when he says that the Em-

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services to the royal family—and his refusal to join the republican party, though allured by every honour which could flatter his ambition. On this party obtaining the ascendancy, what was his conduct? He resolved no longer to head the army, though he would not lead it against his country, but posted it so advantageously, that Gen. Clairfait was deterred from attacking it. When commissioners came to remove him from the command of the army, still faithful to the constitution and monarchy he had sworn to defend, he consigned them to the civil power. He soon afterwards passed the frontier, with a determination not to join the enemies of his country, and this was the cause of his dungeon and his sufferings. Had he, the General said, deserted his country, as a traitor, and delivered the commissioners to the enemies of his country, he would have now been at liberty, and his virtues extolled. Had he carried away the military chest, he would have received rewards. On neutral ground (the bishopric of Liege) he was taken prisoner. He was invited by the promises of officers, who were in the service of Austria, who assured him of a safe passage. With them he was taken prisoner, and transferred to a fortress belonging to the King of Prussia, where he was offered his liberty, on condition of joining the army of the French princes. This he refused; and then the officers of the King of Prussia claimed him as a prisoner of their master, not as a prisoner of war. Whatever might be the law of nations, the General said he thought it extremely hard to confine a man in one nation for a crime committed against another nation. La Fayette and three other gentlemen, who had been members of the constituent assembly, were now confined in filthy and unwholesome dungeons, without the liberty of breathing the fresh air more than one hour in a day, and debarred from all communication with each other. The General humanely urged the obligation which this country lay under, to protect Monsieur La Fayette, according to the proclamation of the 29th October, which promised protection to all who should throw off anarchy, and declare for monarchy. If we refused to interfere, what dependance could the royalists peror of Austria had no apologist, as will be seen on reading the debates on that occasion, and also by the

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place upon our promises? He noticed the gross impolicy shown in our conduct towards those who had deserted the republic, and warned the House against the propagation of an opinion that this country was not sincere in the proclamation of October 29th; which must inevitably be the case, if we did not mark our disapprobation of the imprisonment of Monsieur La Fayette and his companions, who were the defenders of the constitution of 1789. A favourable moment for negotiating upon this subject might certainly be found; as for instance. when solicitations were made to his Prussian majesty to accept a sum of 7 or £800,000 from this country. He urged, that the conduct of Monsieur La Fayette in America, ought to be no bar to such an interposition. as we should have been happy to have saved, by such a step, the life of Louis the sixteenth, whose conduct in the American war, would never have been thought of as an obstacle. The General continued to urge the policy and humanity of this interference, and mentioned the intention of the President of the United States, to make an application in favour of the unhappy prisoner. He concluded, by moving for an address to his majesty, stating, that the detention of Monsieur de La Fayette and his three friends in prison, by order of the King of Prussia, was injurious to his majesty and the cause of his allies, and beseeching him to intercede for their deliverance, in such a way as he in his wisdom shall judge proper.

"This motion was seconded by Col. Tarleton, who gallantly expatiated upon the merits of a General who had once been his adversary, and, to prove the attachment of Monsieur La Fayette to monarchy, read an extract of a letter from him, written in the camp at Maubeuge. This letter, he stated, had, on its arrival in Paris, excited against him the rancour of the Jacobin faction. It produced an accusation against him before the Assembly, which, on his arrival. pronounced a unanimous acquittal and approbation. In his absence, Jacobin emissaries corrupted his army, and he resolved to flee from a country which he was then prevented from serving.

fact, that the motion for interference was lost, 46 to 153. The discussion, however, may be considered as

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"The Chancellor of the Exchequer, (Mr. Pitt,) denied that the four persons mentioned in the motion ever were the real friends of liberty, and thought their detention no infraction of the law of nations. The question, he said, was, whether this country was implicated to interfere from motives of justice, honour, and policy? The interference required would be setting ourselves up as guardians of the consciences of foreign states. This country had, he said, no participation in the matter, since Monsieur La Fayette had been taken prisoner before we were a party in the war. With respect to the gentleman being entitled to the protection of this country on account of the proclamation at Toulon, that declaration was addressed only to such as were willing to come as friends and supporters of the genuine cause of liberty. This was not the case with Monsieur La Fayette and his friends. He should, he said, oppose the motion as equally improper and unnecessary.

"Mr. Fox thought it was difficult to say which was the more extraordinary, that this country should refuse to interfere, or that the court of Berlin should exercise such abominable tyranny. On the pretext alleged for continuing the treatment received by Monsieur de La Fayette, that he was the prisoner of the allied powers, not to interfere was to be implicated in the odium, and to be handed down to posterity, as accomplices in the diabolical cruelty of the Prussian cabinet. Mr. Fox stated that these unfortunate prisoners were confined in separate apartments, suffered only to breathe the fresh air one hour in a day, confined in subterraneous caverns, in which the only light came from a confined and dreary court, where the execution of malefactors was the only spectacle. In this dreary situation, they had still one comfort, that of thinking themselves confined under the same roof; but this consolation was put an end to, by the removal of two of them to another prison; and the request of Monsieur La Fayette to the King of Prussia, that Monsieur Latour Maubourg might remain in the same prison with him, was denied. As a proof that we might interfere in such a case, Mr. Fox cited the instance of an application leading to, and facilitating his release, because the arguments for still keeping him, are founded on no better

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made from this country to the court of France in the case of Captain Asgill. He did not, however, conceive that any authority was requisite on the present occasion. He mentioned, that Monsieur La Fayette was neither treated as a prisoner of war nor as a prisoner of state. The King of Prussia had repeatedly declared him and his friends prisoners to the allied powers, and that he could not be released but by their consent; there was no way for those powers to clear themselves from such an imputation, but by declaring their disavowal of the whole proceeding. National honour and policy required this. Monsieur La Fayette, he contended, stood exactly in the same predicament with those to whom protection had been offered by this country. Had he staid in France, and come forward on the proclamation at Toulon, could we then have refused him protection? Mr. Fox mentioned, that the treatment experienced by Monsieur La Fayette and his friends, had prevented many persons in France from joining the standard of royalty. Frenchmen must suppose, from our conduct, either that our declarations were as faithless as those of the King of Prussia, and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, or that our allies thought differently from us; that all the supporters of limited monarchy were to be proscribed, and the advocates of unlimited monarchy only protected. He showed the unpopularity of the old government of France—so much so, that after Louis the seventeenth was proclaimed, the partisans of royalty were with much difficulty prevailed upon to lay aside the national cockade, and substitute the white for the tri-coloured flag. Mr. Fox mentioned, in pointed terms, the abominable treachery by which La Fayette had been captured. Of his company, consisting of forty persons, all but himself and three others, who had been members of the Constituent Assembly, were released. No man could, he said, point out that part of the law of nations, by which the subjects of one independent nation could be made prisoners of state by the sovereign of another, for offences committed, or supposed to be committed, in their own country; it could only be done by the law of tyrants, which condemns all principles, human grounds, than the want of a precedent to do a humane act;—and the right and justice of revenge, where the power exists: whereas those for the interference are grounded on national honour, humanity and justice.

Notwithstanding the efforts which had been made for their release, La Fayette and his fellow prisoners remained immured in their dark and loathsome dungeons, until about the middle of the year 1797. At this period, Bonaparte settled the treaty of Campo Formio with the Austrian government. In the articles of this treaty it was expressly stipulated, that La Fayette and the other French prisoners confined at Olmutz should be liberated. This was not done, however, without an attempt to prescribe certain conditions to La Fayette. The Emperor of Austria on this occasion, commissioned the Marquis de Chasteler to take charge of the negociation, and as though a

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and divine. Mr. Fox spoke in the highest terms of Monsieur La Fayette and his fellow prisoners, and vindicated the General from the charge which had been urged against him, that of instigating the flight of the royal family, and afterwards betraying them, from the testimony of the unfortunate Queen on her trial.

" Mr. Burke strongly opposed the motion, on the ground that no precedent existed of such an interference, and that it was improper, as we had forborne to interfere in preventing the numerous massacres, &c. in France. Of these calamities, he considered Monsieur La Fayette as the origin, and the author of all the miseries that had befallen France. He ridiculed all interference on this occasion, and arraigned, in his usual unqualified terms, the whole conduct of the unhappy sufferers.

" Mr. Grey strongly contended in favour of the motion, which was further supported by Mr. Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Whitbread, junior; and opposed by Mr. Ryder, the Solicitor General, Mr. Cocks, and Mr. Addington. On a division of the House, the ayes were 46, noes 153."—*Annual Register.*

dungeon for five years had not been sufficient to expiate the imputed crimes of La Fayette, the Minister offered him terms of compromise, by which his liberation from his dungeon should be bought at the price of his general freedom.

Gen. La Fayette's reply to the terms of the commissioner, will show the nature of this attempt, as well as the General's firmness in refusing all terms restricting his rights as a citizen of France and America. It is as follows:

"The commission, with the execution of which Lieut. General the Marquis de Chasteler has been charged, seems to me to resolve itself into the consideration of three points: 1st. His Imperial Majesty requires an authenticated statement of our exact situation. I am not disposed at present to complain of any grievances. Several representations, however, on this subject, may be found in the letters of my wife, transmitted or sent back by the Austrian government; and if his Majesty is not satisfied by the perusal of the instructions sent, in his name, from Vienna, I will cheerfully communicate to M. de Chasteler all the information he can possibly desire.

"2nd. His Majesty, the Emperor and King is desirous of obtaining an assurance, that upon my liberation, I shall immediately leave Europe for America. This has been often my desire and my intention; but as my consent at this moment, to his Majesty's request, would constitute an acknowledgment of his right to impose such a condition, I do not feel disposed to comply with this demand.

"3d. His Majesty, the Emperor and King, has graciously done me the honour to signify, that inasmuch, as the principles I profess, are incompatible with the safety of the Austrian government, he cannot consent to allow me to enter his territories again, without his special permission. To this, I have only to reply, that there already exist antecedent obligations, of which I cannot possibly divest myself, partly towards America, but mostly towards France; and I cannot engage to do any thing which might interfere with the rights of my country, to my personal services. With these exceptions, I can assure the Marquis de Chasteler, that my invariable resolution is, not to set my foot upon any territory under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The other prisoners, Maubourg and de Puzy made similar objections to binding themselves not to enter the Emperor's dominion, in case their country required their services there. It was therefore arranged, that all the prisoners should be set free after signing the following declaration:

"The undesigned engage towards his Majesty the Emperor and King, not to enter at any time, whatever, his hereditary provinces, without first obtaining his special permission; it being always understood, that the rights of the undersigned's country over his person, are explicitly reserved and retained."

On these terms, La Fayette, with his fellow prisoners, were released on the 25th of August, 1797. He had been confined five years, and Madame La Fayette and her daughters, had shared his prison with him twenty-two months.

If all the circumstances attending La Fayette s imprisonment be taken into consideration, perhaps a parallel case for injustice and cruelty can hardly be found in the annals of Monarchical tyranny. It never was pretended that he was taken, or retained as a prisoner of war. No charges were ever formally preferred against him, and no legal judgment ever doomed him to punishment. The Jacobin faction of Paris outlawed him, confiscated his estates, and set a price on his head, as a Royalist, while the coalesced Kings of Europe immured him in dungeons as a Republican. La Fayette notwithstanding, was perfectly consistent in his principles and conduct throughout those trials. His determination to assist the Americans proved that he was strongly attached to the principles of national and civil liberty, even from his youth. These principles were no doubt confirmed and strengthened by his association with Washington, and by witnessing the scenes of desolation through which the Americans finally triumphed over despotism. Under the ancient monarchies of France, freedom was unknown—nor were the principles of constitutional liberty at all understood. When, therefore, the revolution of France began, it was the result of increasing knowledge, on the subject of human rights. La Fayette understood the principles of human rights, and was attached to the liberty of man. He knew, therefore, that the rights of his countrymen required a constitution founded on these principles, and he acted accordingly. At the beginning of the revolution, when a member of the States General he offered to the Assembly a bill of rights, taking the American declaration of rights as the basis. When the constitution of France was proposed, he was of course in favour of the measure, as a means of prescribing and securing the rights of the people.

These were the crimes for which he was incarcerated, and for which the monarchs of Europe would have consigned him to perpetual and infamous punishment.

On the contrary, La Fayette was attached to his King, not only personally, but as the head of the government. He had no intention of changing the form of government, nor did he ever act on such a principle. He only desired a reform, which, without touching the prerogatives of the King, should confer more freedom and more happiness on the people, and these were the crimes for which a lawless faction set a price upon his head.

At the time La Fayette was liberated, France was still in two unsettled a state to allow him safety to return home. He therefore proceeded to Hamburg, which was neutral ground. Here he caused his rights as a French and an American citizen to be formally recognized, and then retired to Holstein, where he resided with his family in peace for two years. It was while he resided here, that his son George Washington La Fayette, returned from the United States and joined his family. His mother, to save him from the merciless foes of his father, had sent him to America, where he resided under the protection and in the family of Washington. While here, too, their eldest daughter was married to Latour Maubourg, brother to him who shared La Fayette's captivity. In 1799, apparent tranquility being established in France, he returned and took up his residence at La Grange, about forty miles from Paris, where his family still remains.

Agreeably to our plan, we now return to the history of the French revolution, during the period of La Fayette's imprisonment, and down to the time of Bonaparte's consulship, where La Fayette again appears.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.—EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN—APPEARANCE OF BONAPARTE, &C.

The reader has already seen that the constitution of France had been settled on the oath of the nation, on the 14th of June. 1790, and that in 1792 it was again revised by the National Assembly, and approved, article by article, by the King. It has also been stated, that on the accession of the jacobin faction to the government, the constitution was abolished by a vote of that Assembly. and a new executive body was formed, the infamous Danton being appointed minister of justice.

From this time the reign of terror began, and violence and murder became the order of the day. Robespierre, Marat and Danton, became the leaders of the executive body. In September, 1792, this execrable association, which still styled themselves the National Assembly, as a preliminary to the death of the King, which they had determined to compass, formally passed a decree abolishing the royalty of France.*

On the 2d of September, the Assembly declared the nation in danger from foreign foes, the Prussians having passed the frontiers of France. Instantly Paris was in the most dreadful alarm. The Assembly proposed to equip a volunteer company, which should sally forth to meet the enemy. But instead of having their names enrolled in the different sections of Paris, with order and quietness, they ordered that the alarm guns should be fired, and the tocsin, or alarm bells to be sounded, and that the populace of Paris should be summoned to the Champ de Mars, from whence, as they pretended, they were to march against the enemy. An immense concourse assembled, but instead of enrolling their names, voices were heard exclaiming "we are ready to devote ourselves to the service of our country against foreign enemies, but we must first purge the nation from its domestic foes." This was undoubtedly done at the private direction of Robespierre and his associates.

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* This decree was as follows:

"The National Assembly decrees that *royalty is abolished* in France;

"That all public acts shall be dated—'The first year of the French Republic.'

"That the seal of the State shall be changed, and have for legend, 'French Republic.'

"And that the national seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with a cap of liberty upon it; on the exergue shall be engraved, 'Archives of the French Republic."

Without further deliberation, a party of armed men proceeded to a prison where a number of priests were confined, who had refused the oath of the constitution. These, in cold blood, were every one slain. The remorseless assassins then went to the abbey prison, where the Swiss officers, who had escaped the murders of the 10th of August, were confined for having attempted to defend their sovereign. There the mob empannelled a jury of their number, and each prisoner, before he was slain, was insulted by a mock trial. The watchword that pronounced the culprit guilty was "Il faut le larger,"* on which the miserable man was precipitated into the street, where he was cut to pieces by the mob. To give a kind of authority to these massacres, some were acquitted, declared to be under the protection of the nation, and were led home by the banditti.

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* He must be set at liberty.

Having destroyed all the Swiss officers they found confined, except one, this more than savage rabble proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined. In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished Princess de Lambelle, who had been guilty of nothing more than being the particular friend and confidante of the Queen. This ill-fated Princess was dragged from her bed, her head severed from her body, her heart torn out, and both were placed on the end of a pike, and carried to the Palais Royal, and shown to the Queen.

After their formal abolition of royalty, the National Assembly threw off all reserve. Every emblem of royalty was effaced. The words, King, Bourbon, or any other word which tended to bring to mind, that the nation ever had a King, was destroyed in the streets. The streets, squares and bridges, were named anew, and the Assembly decreed, that the monuments and statues of Kings should be converted into cannon. The virtues of Henry IV. so lately the idol of the populace, could not atone for the crime of having been a King ; a rope was put round the neck of his statue of bronze, and he was hurled from his pedestal amidst the shouts of the mob.

These acts were only a prelude to the destruction of the King and Queen themselves.

About the middle of September, the Assembly having passed a decree to imprison the King and royal family, they were immured in the dreary tower of the Temple to await their trial, by their accusers.

It cannot but be interesting to the reader to be informed of the particulars of the confinement of this unfortunate family, and of the trial and execution of the King and Queen.

The second and third stories of the Temple were assigned to the royal prisoners. But being single rooms, they had been divided by four partitions, expressly for this purpose. The ground floor was occupied by the Municipal officers. The first story was the guard room. The first room of the King's story was an anti-chamber, from which three doors led to three separate apartments. Opposite the entrance was the King's chamber, in which a bed was also placed for the Dauphin. Next the King's room was that of his faithful and devoted servant, Clere, who has written an account of all these transactions. The windows were secured with great iron bars, and slanting screens on the outside, so as to prevent the prisoners from being seen. The embrasures of the windows were nine feet thick. The Queen occupied the third story, which was distributed much like the King's. In this dreadful place, more horrible on all accounts than any the Bastile ever contained, the royal family were shut up from September 1792, to the execution of the King, in January, 1793.

The manner in which they spent their time while there, is so interesting, that it is believed the reader will not find it too long.

The King usually rose at six, shaved himself, and Clere dressed his hair. He then went to his reading-room, which being very small, the Municipal officer on duty remained in the bed-room, with the door open, that he might always keep the King in sight. Soon after the King was up, he read prayers, and as mass was not permitted, he requested Clere to purchase a breviary, such as was used in the diocese of Paris.

While the King was thus engaged, Clere, after putting his chamber in order, and preparing breakfast, went to the Queen, who never opened her door till he arrived, in order to prevent the Municipal officer from going into her apartment. He dressed the Prince, and combed the Queen's hair, then went and did the same for Madame Royale, and Madame Elizabeth. This service afforded one of the opportunities Clere had of communicating to the Queen and Princesses whatever he heard; for when they found by a sign that he had something to say, one of them kept the officer in talk, to divert his attention.

At nine o'clock, the King and his son were summoned to breakfast: Clere attended them. By the queen's order, he taught Madame Royale to dress hair; while he did this, the King generally played at chess, sometimes with the Queen, sometimes with Madame Elizabeth.

At ten, the family assembled in the Queen's chamber, and there passed the day. The King employed himself in educating his son. The Prince's early quickness of apprehension fully repaid the fond cares of his father. In the meantime the Queen instructed her daughter. These lessons lasted till eleven o'clock. The remaining hour till noon was passed in needle-work, knitting, or making tapestry. At noon, they retired to Madame Elizabeth's room, to change their dress; no Municipal officer attending. At one, when the weather was fine, they were conducted to the garden by four officers, and a detachment of the national guard.

At two they returned to the tower, where Clere served dinner. The table was well supplied, less from respect to the King, than kindness for the Commissioners, who made daily visits to the temple to take their meals. At dinner-time, Santerre, the brewer, commander in chief of the national guards, regularly came, attended by two aid de camps; the King sometimes spoke to him; the Queen never. After dinner, the family withdrew to the Queen's room; the Dauphin and his sister went into the anti-chamber, to play at battledore and shuttlecock, or some other game. Madame Elizabeth was always with them, and generally sat with a book in her hand.

Clere stayed with them also, and sometimes read. This dispersion of the royal family often perplexed the municipal officers on guard, who, anxious not to leave the King and Queen alone, were still more so not to leave one another, so great was their distrust. This was the time Madame Elizabeth took to ask Clere questions, or give him orders. He both listened to her, and answered, without taking his eyes from the book in his hand, that he might not be surprised by the officers. The Dauphin and his sister, instructed by their aunt, facilitated these conversations, by being noisy in their play, and made signs to her when the officers were coming.

In the evening, the family sat round a table, while the Queen read to them either history or some work proper to instruct and amuse her children. Sometimes she, unexpectedly, met with situations similar to their own, which gave rise to very afflicting reflections. Madame took the book in her turn, and in this manner they read till eight o'clock. Clere then gave the Prince his supper, during which time the King would divert the children by making them guess riddles in a collection which he found in the library.

After supper, the Queen heard the Prince say his prayers; he said one for the Princess de Lamballe, and another for his governess; when the officers were too near, the Prince of his own accord said these two prayers in a low voice. Clere then put him to bed, and if he had any thing to communicate to the queen, he took that opportunity. He acquainted her with the contents of the journals. When they were no longer permitted in the tower, a newsman, sent on purpose, used to come every night at seven o'clock, and, standing by the wall near the temple inclosure, read several times over, an account of all that had passed in the Convention, at the commune, and the armies. Clere, placing himself in the King's reading room, listened, and with the advantage of perfect silence, remembered all he heard.

At nine, the King went to supper, while the Queen and Madame Elizabeth took it in turns to stay by the

Dauphin; and as Clere carried them whatever they wanted from the table, it afforded another opportunity of speaking without witnesses.

After supper, the King went for a moment into the Queen's chamber, shook hands with her and his sister, kissed his daughter, and then retired to the turret-room, where he read till midnight. The Queen and Princesses locked themselves in, and one of the officers remained in the little room that parted their chambers, where he passed the night; the other followed his majesty.

Before the confinement of the royal family in the temple, they had fresh occasion to contemplate an example of Parisian ferocity in the massacres of September. Great fears were entertained for their safety, during those days, but the commissioners on duty succeeded in preventing the mob from executing any ferocious project with which their leaders might have inspired them. But though they were restrained from violence, they committed an act of brutality, from which the most unenlightened savages would have recoiled with horror. The head of the Princess de Lamballe, carried on a pike, with her heart above it, were paraded before the windows of the temple. The queen instantly fainted; both she and her sister were taken extremely ill. Two commissioners were with the king: one of them hearing the shouts, and recognizing the head, invited him to see a curious sight. The king was advancing to the window, when the other commissioner interposed, saying, the sight was too shocking; and placing his hands before his eyes, prevented him from seeing it. The king related this anecdote to M. de Malesherbes, who requested to know the names of the commissioners. He told that of the humane man without hesitation, but declined mentioning the other, alledging, "that it could do him no credit at that time, and might, possibly, at some future period bring him trouble."

From the day of the king's imprisonment, the necessity of his being separated from the queen was vehemently discussed ; but when the trial was determined, it was rigourously enforced. He was not permitted to see the journals, in order that he might not be prepared to repel the accusations that were to be brought against him. But if they contained abusive expressions against the king or queen, atrocious threats or infamous calumnies, some officer or other was sure, with studied malice, to place them on the drawers of his majesty's chamber, that they might fall into his hands. He once read in one of those papers, the petition of an engineer for the head of the tyrant Louis the sixteenth, that he might load his piece with it, and shoot it at the enemy. In another, that the two young wolves in the temple (meaning the king's children) ought to be smothered. These articles affected the king only for the sake of the people. "How very unfortunate are the French," said he, "to be imposed on in this manner." If Clere saw these journals first, he took care to remove them, but they were generally placed there when he was away, so that few of the articles published to injure him, escaped his knowledge.

As the king's trial approached, the *commune* and the people redoubled their ferocity, and continued augmenting it till the hour of his death. The municipal committee made frequent reports to the *commune*, that there was a plan for delivering the prisoners from the temple. The family were not allowed to walk out, or come near any of the windows, or to talk to each other respecting their situation : every sign, look, or movement, was interpreted to their disadvantage. The most ridiculous precautions were taken to prevent their having any communications with their friends. A draft-board Clere had sent to be mended was taken entirely to pieces before the officers, for fear letters were concealed in it ; stone fruits were cut, and the kernels broken for the same reason. Another time, they compelled Clere to drink the essence of soap, prepared for shaving the king, on pretence that it was poison which his majesty had procured to destroy himself. They forbid Clere going up to dress the queen's hair, saying, if she could not do it herself, she must bring her powder and combs, and have it done there. They would follow her into her chamber when she went to change her dress; Clere represented the indecency of such behaviour, but they persisted and she was obliged to give up dressing.

Notwithstanding the well known religion of the king, orders were given that his razors, knives, scissars, and all other instruments *tranchant, et piquant*, should be removed. The king was affected with this insult, and indignantly asked the commissioners, "Do you think me such a coward as to kill myself?" The queen derided the minuteness of these orders; she said, "They had better take away our needles also. At another time, happening to raise the hand in which she held her knife, towards her bosom, the commissioner seemed alarmed, as if she intended to destroy herself, which she observing, said, "No, sir, I reserve that hononr to the French nation."

Even the jailors increased in their insolence. One of them boasted, that when he saw Elizabeth coming, he always took care to draw as much smoke from his pipe as possible into his mouth, to have the pleasure of puffing it full in her face. One of them wrote in large letters, on the wall, "The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis the Sixteenth."

From the moment the king's trial was agitated in the convention, he was considered as condemned. This was instanced, in his demand for some classic authors; this occasioned violent debates in the council-general. Some observed his life would not be long enough to read them; others, that he could not understand them. Many proposed, that the Life of Cromwell, the History of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Revolution in England and America, should be substituted. At length, the debate terminated, and the request was granted.

The party in the legislature, who were labouring to procure the condemnation of Louis, proceeded, not as if the ascertainment of his guilt was necessary, but as if the only business of the convention was to pronounce sentence of death. The tergiversations and duplicity of those who had dethroned and imprisoned the king, and now pretended to maintain his inviolability, gave to the other party a decided advantage. The galleries were so regularly trained, and so much swayed by the Mountain,* that the speaker was secure of a favourable reception, who began with invectives against the king or queen. Robespierre headed this faction, and exerted himself with uncommon zeal to bring the convention into his opinion. He made no scruple in declaring "Louis ought to have had sentence pronounced on him as a tyrant, condemned by the insurrection of the people; instead of which, proceedings were instituted against him, as in the case of an accused citizen, whose criminality was doubtful. The revolution ought to have been cemented by his death; instead of which, the revolution itself was rendered a subject of litigation."

Before such a tribunal Louis was to appear! He had not the slightest intimation that he should be called upon to answer so many questions, prepared with the most studied art, applying to the transactions of many years, and affecting both his private and public character. The hope of those who arranged this mode of proceeding, was, that the king's natural diffidence, his reserve in expressing himself, increased by the suddenness and importance of the occasion, would, by disconcerting, render him more liable to inconsistency.

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* A party so called, because they occupied the highest seats in the Hall. They were opposed to the Gironde party, but all were jacobins.

On the day fixed for his appearance at the convention, the greatest epoch in his eventful life, he conducted himself in a manner so highly honourable to his character, as to merit a minute detail. He rose, and passed his first hours as usual. At eight o'clock, he was surprised by the beat of drums. He could receive no other answer to his interrogatories respecting this unusual sound, but, "I know nothing of the matter." This affected ignorance increased the king's anxiety; he had long expected to be murdered, and now thought the day was come, yet he did not lose his wonted courage and serenity. At nine, he went to breakfast with his family, but took nothing. An expressive silence was maintained. All appeared to dread an event, terrible in proportion to the mystery in which they were enveloped. After breakfast, the king retired with his son; but instead of giving him the usual lessons, he sought to divert himself by his innocent conversation.

At length, the commissioner informed the king he was to receive a visit from the new mayor; "and I must inform you," (he added) "that he cannot speak to you in presence of your son." The king immediately pressing the child to his bosom, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Bereft of his only consolation, the king fell into a deep reverie; his attention was so totally absorbed that the commissioner passed several times close by him, and at length stood behind him. He was in this situation when the king recovered, and looking suddenly round, the impression that he should be murdered was so strong on his mind, that on seeing the commissioner, he exclaimed, "What do you want, sir?" He replied, "Nothing; but fearing you were ill, I approached to know what ailed you."

After two hours, the mayor Chambon arrived, attended by his secretary, who read aloud these words: "Louis Capet shall be conducted to the bar of the national convention, on Tuesday the 11th, to answer such questions as shall be put to him by the president." As soon as these words were pronounced, the mayor raised his voice, and summoned the king to follow; the king obeyed. In crossing the court, nothing but strange objects presented themselves to his eyes. The uniform of the guards was new, and no countenance displayed any sign of commiseration. Oppressed with mournful reflections, he cast his eyes up to the window of the apartment that contained his family; and tenderness drew from him those tears which neither cruelty nor insolence could ever extort.

His unhappy relatives were overwhelmed with terror and dismay. The commissioner entered their apartment, and told the Queen, the King had received a visit from the Mayor. "We know that from my son," she answered, "but now—oh! where have they carried the king now?" "To the Convention." "You would have saved us much anguish had you told us so before;"—a melancholy delineation of the state of their minds, when such information could afford relief.

The King proceeded in Chambon's coach. By order of the Commune, extraordinary measures were taken to secure a passage free from interruption. The procession began with three field pieces, attended by two ammunition waggons, and escorted by a corps of fusileers; forty-eight horse formed the avant guard; six hundred foot, armed with firelocks, each of them supplied with sixteen rounds of cartridges, formed a line three deep on each side of the coach. The cavalry from the Ecole Militaire formed the rear guard, and the procession was closed with three field-pieces, attended by ammunition waggons, and escorted like the van, by a corps of fusileers. Troops were posted in various parts of the capital; patroles paraded the streets, and all the national guards in the department were put in a state of requisition. During their progress, the whole party maintained an inviolable silence.

At one o'clock, Santerre appeared in the Convention, and said, "Louis Capet is arrived, and waits the orders of the Assembly."

A silence, expressive of agitation, for some time prevailed; even those who were so tumultuous in the galleries, who disdained order, and had taken their seats at six in the morning, for the purpose of serving their employers by clamour; even they were silent. Every eye was fixed on the door at which the King was expected to enter. He came; every countenance betrayed emotion. The King, though obedient to circumstances, and incapable of a mad resistance to a force wholly disproportionate, seemed not to have forgot the claims of his high birth and exalted character. He appeared, not only without perturbation, but with dignity. He cast his eyes round the hall, with a look equally remote from fear or contempt. On him, all eyes were fixed. His features, clouded by misfortunes, had lost none of their majesty: even the length of his beard, spread over his countenance an appearance inexpressibly venerable, and which excited at once respect and compassion. He seated himself on a chair provided for the purpose.

The President, Barrere, then informed the King, why he was brought there. Mailhe then read the act of accusation, to which the King listened attentively, but testified neither surprise nor indignation. Without giving him a copy of this composition, to assist his memory by a cursory perusal; without allowing a moment for preparation or reflection, Barrere pressed the trial forward. The King was interrogated, article by article.* The question sometimes assumed an extraordinary latitude; sometimes were distinguished

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Extract of the proceedings of the National Convention, on the 11*th of December*, 1792.

* Louis came to the bar: a profound silence reigned in the assembly. The president said to him,

"Louis, the people of France accuse you; the national convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Louis sit down."

The King seated himself. A secretary read the accusation, and the president then said,

"Louis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the national convention to propose to you.—Louis, you are accused of having committed a multitude of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty.—On the 20th of June, 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the people by suspending the assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles, by the members of the constituent assembly. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I acted against no law then in existence."

President. "On the 23d of June, 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation; you surrounded the sitting of the constituent assembly with troops; presented them with two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate."

To this the King gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

President. You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris; their blood was shed, you did not withdraw your troops till the Bastile was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious.—The answers you returned to the deputations of the constituent assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, shew by a laborious minuteness; they sometimes imputed to the King the most flagrant tyranny; and at others,

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what your intentions then were; and the massacre at the Tuileries also deposes against you. What have you to answer.

Louis. I had at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood.

President. After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the Assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against national liberty. You evaded sanctioning the decree of August 11th, abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and titles: you at first refused to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body guards, and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards, that you changed your language, and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th September, on the decree of the 10th August, in the verbal process of the Constituent Assembly on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the Constituent Assembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their counsel, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer?

Louis. I made the observations which occurred to me as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false; I was witness to no such scene.

President. At the federation of the 14th of July, 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirathe most cautious hypocrisy. The King's energy and presence of mind showed him equally prepared to

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bean in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter written by La Porte to you on the 1[illegible]th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with Rivarol, he informs you that the sums you had been advised to distribute, had produced nothing.

Louis. I do not exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previously to my accepting the constitution.

President. Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Fauxbourg St Antoine, distributed money to the poor workmen, telling them that you could do no more for them?

Louis. I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief. In this I had no insidious design.

President. Was it not in consequence of the same project that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud, or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?

Louis. This accusation is quite absurd.

President. You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d of February, 1791, which you verified by your own hand-writing; and, on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Tuileries in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St Cloud, on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you, that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured to dissipate this distrust by communicating to the assembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by means of a maintain his own innocence, and vindicate the dignity of his character. He answered with the utmost frank-

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false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very constitution. You ordered the ministers not to sign any acts which came from the national assembly ; and you prohibited the minister of justice from sealing them with the seal of the state ; the public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treason ; and you ordered Bouille to assist you with an armed force ; that same officer who commanded at the massacres of Nantz, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity, it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your own hand ; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing ; on your letter of the 4th of September, 1790, to Bouille ; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops that were to escort you. What have you to answer ?

Louis. I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the constituent assembly.

President. After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired ; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the *Champ de Mars.* A letter in your own hand addressed to La Fayette, 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expense of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septueil state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the constitution of the 14th of September, you declared yourself willing to ness, precision, and promptitude. He never lost his composure, except when the President accused him

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maintain it, yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer?

Louis. What passed on the 17th of July cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them.

President. A convention took place at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the national assembly until it was known to all Europe. What have you to answer?

Louis. I made it known as soon as I knew it myself; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers.

President. Arles raised the standard of revolt; you favoured it by sending commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt. What do you answer?

Louis. The commissioners' instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were entrusted. I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me.

President. Avignon and Venaissin had been reunited to France; but you did not execute the decree till a month after; during that interval, a civil war desolated the country, and the commissioners you sent completed the devastation. What have you to answer?

Louis. That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree; but those who were entrusted with it, are alone responsible.

President. Nismes, Montaubun, Mendes, and Jales, experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty. You did dothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution, till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?

of having distributed money to the poor labourers of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, for the purpose of acqui-

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Louis. I gave the orders upon that occasion, which were proposed to me by my minister.

President. You sent two battalions against the Marseillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?

Louis. I must see the papers with regard to this affair, before I can answer to the charge.

President. You gave the command of the South to Weigtenstein, who wrote you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer, and I should have surrounded your Majesty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.'—What have you to answer?

Louis. This letter, by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recall. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter.

President. You paid your disbanded body-guard at Coblentz, as the registers of Septueil testify; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouille, la Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beaupre, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac.

Louis. I no sooner received intelligence that my body-guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest.

President. Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them till you were well assured that you could not injure their plans. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the handwriting of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows:

"I have written to you, but it was not by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ring popularity, and enslaving the nation. The perversion of his benevolence into a crime, shocked the

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ardour to serve you animates us both. We still keep silence; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will listen, but never alter our course; if therefore, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation; be easy with regard to your safety; we only exist to serve you: we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu.

L. S. XAVIER, et
CHARLES PHILLIPPE."

What have you to answer?

Louis. As soon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters.

President. The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December; you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised; but he stopped the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made; yet nothing was prepared. Servan proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; the Legislative Assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris: you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march: meanwhile our armies were deficient in soldiers; Dumouriez, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer?

monarch;—he shed tears. A consciousness of his integrity, however, soon restored his calmness; and

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Louis. I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the assembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine.

President. You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon's, commander in Franche Comte. What have you to answer?

Louis. There is not a word of truth in this accusation.

President. You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, particularly to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria; that the latter by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador of Constantinople. What have you to answer?

Louis. M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth; there is no foundation for such an idea.

President. "You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis; you delayed till the legislative assembly required of the minister Legard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the assembly, proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers; your minister was ordered on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the assembly, as directed by the constitution. What have you to answer?"

Louis. I had no knowledge of the fact until the 10th; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the ministers.

President. You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of his reply was a triumphant refutation :—“ I knew no pleasure equal to the power of relieving those who

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Calonne, at the head of the war department ; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them.

Louis. I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne ; it was not I who dismantled these towns ; I never would have authorized it.

President. Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun ?

Louis. If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it.

President. You have destroyed our navy ; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remains a sufficient number for the service ; nevertheless, Bertrand continued to grant passports, and when the legislative body presented to you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered that you were satisfied with his services.

Louis. I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the service. The national assembly produced no charge that appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him.

President. You countenanced absolute government in the colonies ; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France.

Louis. If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for any thing of the nature you mention.

President. The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics ; you shewed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer ?

Louis. I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design.

President. The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you were in want: there was nothing in that which indicated a plot." To the interrogatory accusing him of

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suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer?

Louis. The constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting decrees.

President. Disturbances increased; the minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree; you suspended the execution of that also.

Louis. The same reply.

President. The bad conduct of those guards which the constitution had given to you, was such, that the assembly was under the necessity of decreeing, that they should be disbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and you continued to pay them as is proved by the accounts of the treasurer of the civil list.

Louis. I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the decree required.

President. You retained your Swiss guards about your person in contradiction to the constitution, and after the legislative assembly had ordered their departure. What do you answer?

Louis. I conformed to the decree on that subject.

President. You authorized d'Augremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles who was ordered to organize a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?

Louis. I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head.

President. You endeavoured by considerable sums to bribe several members of the constituent and legislative assemblies. The fact is proved by letters from Dufresne, Saint Leon, and many others which will be produced.

Louis. Such plans were frequently presented to me, but I rejected them.

having caused blood to be shed on the 10th of August, he replied, with marked emphasis, " No, sir, IT WAS

President. Who were the members of the constituent and legislative assemblies whom you corrupted ?

Louis. I never sought to corrupt any. I know of none.

President. Who were the persons that presented plans to you ?

Louis. The plans were so absurd, that I don't recollect.

President. To whom did you promise money ?

Louis. To none.

President. You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in these countries. What have you to answer ?

Louis. The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate that was the business of the ministers.

President. On the 10th of August, you reviewed the Swiss guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer ?

Louis. I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the national assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency ; and I afterwards took refuge in the assembly, with my family.

President. Why did you cause the Swiss guards to be doubled, in the beginning of August ?

Louis. All the constituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself.

President. Why did you send for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August ?

Louis. Because of the rumours which were spread.

President. You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed.

Louis. No, Sir, it was not I.

NOT I." When the questions were ended, the President said, "Louis, have you any thing more to add ?"

President. Did not you authorize Septueil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburgh, and in other towns ? This is proved by Septueil's own letters.

Louis. I know nothing about what you mention.

President. Why did you put a *veto* on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris ?

Louis. The constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time, I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers at Soissons.

President. Louis, have you any thing to add in your defence ?

Louis. I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed counsel to conduct my cause.

Valaze, who sat near the bar, presented and read to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.

Louis. I disown them.

Valaze next presented several other papers, on which the act of accusation was founded, and asked the King if he recognized them.— These papers were the following :

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution.

Louis. I reserve to myself to answer the contents. (*Valaze* read the letter)—It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution ; the letter was not to have been sent.

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains ; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet.

Louis. I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, with March 3, 1791, implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the jacobins.

" I demand," said the King, a copy of the act of accusation, and the communication of the papers on

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Louis. I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of Laporte without date, in his handwriting, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men, some papers of great concern which had been deposited with Mirabeau.

Louis. I disown it as well as the rest.

Valaze. Plan of a constitution, or revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to Louis Capet, April 6, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing.

Louis. These things have been blotted out by the constitution.

Valaze. Do you know this writing ?

Louis. I do not.

Valaze. Your marginal comments ?

Louis. I do not.

Valaze. Letter of Laporte, of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, April 19, 1791, mentioning a conversation with Rivarol.

Louis. I disown it.

Valaze. Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the Abbe Perigord, Andre, and Beautmetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake.

Louis. I disown it likewise.

Valaze. Letter of Laporte of the 23d of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it respecting the means of his gaining popularity.

Louis. I know neither of these pieces.

Valaze. Several pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Tuileries, in the gap which was shut in the walls of the palace, relating to the expenses to gain that popularity.

President. Previous to an examination on this subject, which it is founded, and that I may have counsel to manage my defence."

I wish to ask a preliminary question :—Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Tuileries, and had you your papers locked up in that press ?

Louis. I have no knowledge of it whatever.

Valaze. Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Acloque.

Louis. This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made.

Valaze. Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh on the 9th of July, 1791.

Louis. This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid.

President. Louis, where had you deposited those pieces which you own ?

Louis. With my treasurer.

Valaze. Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the one hundred Swiss, and the King's guards for 1792 ?

Louis. I do not.

Valaze. Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of L'Ardeche.

Louis. I have not the smallest knowledge of them.

Valaze. Letter of Bouille, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received of Louis Capet.

Louis. I disown it.

Valaze. An order for payment of 168,000 livres, signed Louis, endorsed Le Bonneirs, with a letter and billet of the same.

Louis. I disown it.

Valaze. Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac, and to Lavauguyon and Choiseul.

Louis. I disown them as well as the others.

Edgeworth, seeing the king much exhausted, prevailed on him to lie down, and himself lay in Clere's bed. With a full consciousness that his last moments were fast approaching, the king slept calmly, without agitation.

At five in the morning, the king called up Clere: He then heard mass, and received the communion with the most profound devotion. A noise was heard: Edgeworth apprehending the fatal moment had arrived, shewed signs of terror; the king maintained his usual serenity.—It was only the guard resuming their posts. To some trifling request he made, they answered, "That might do well enough, citizen, when you were king, but that's not the case now." The king turning to his confessor, said, "you see how I am treated, but nothing can shock me now;" footsteps were now heard on the stairs; "they are now coming," he added.

The commissioners of the commune, with a constitutional priest, named Jaques Roux, came to announce the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said his majesty; "I will join you immediately, but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." He then repeated his recommendation of his family, adding a request, that Clere might be allowed to remain with the Queen; but fearing that term might displease, he hastily corrected himself, and said "my wife." He offered a packet to Roux to give to the commune, but he answered, "It is my duty to convey you to the place of execution, and nothing more." "You are right," said the king; and presented it to another, who accepted the charge, and delivered it faithfully.

When he had retired with Edgeworth, he said, "All is consummated: give me your last benediction." His tenderness had prevented his requesting the abbe to accompany him; but that worthy man voluntarily offered it, and professed his determination not to quit him. This cheered the king; he said he was prepared to meet his last moment.

His majesty observing the commissioners were all covered, ordered Clere to bring his hat. Jaques Roux, and another constitutional priest, with two fierce-looking *gens d'armes* entered the carriage with the king and Edgeworth.

A profound silence prevailed among the people. The escort consisted of twelve hundred men, and all the streets were crowded with national guards. The doors of most of the houses were shut, and the police had strictly forbidden any one to appear at the windows.

As the progress was very slow, the king asked Edgeworth for a prayer-book; the abbe had none but his breviary, which he gave him, pointing out those psalms which were most proper in his situation. His majesty continued reading with great devotion, till he came to the foot of the guillotine, which was erected between the pedestal which had supported the statue of Louis the Fifteenth, and the *Champs Elisees*. He arrived at twenty minutes after ten.

The executioners having opened the carriage door, the king laying his hand on Edgeworth's knee, said to the *gens d' armes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." As they made no answer, he repeated the request with greater earnestness: "I conjure you to take care that no harm befal him after my death." At length one of them said, "Well, well, we shall take care of him."

The king having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands to tie them behind his back. As he was unprepared for this insult, his first movement was to repel the attempt with indignation. But Edgeworth knowing resistance was vain, and would only expose him to greater indignities, said, "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings redecided that counsel should be allowed, without limiting the number. The king being informed of this, named Tronchet and Target; the former accepted the office with pleasure, the latter refused the dangerous task, alleging that he was incapacitated by age. M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes, though nearly eighty, offered his services, which were gratefully accepted.

When Malesherbes and Tronchet were admitted to the king, they found none of the papers of his accusation had yet been sent him. He had, with great difficulty, been allowed till the 26th of December to prepare his defence: these valuable moments were in danger of being lost by this cruel delay. At length they were delivered, and his counsel began to prepare his defence, but their age preventing their making such exertions as the importance of the case, and shortness of time, required: they procured M. de Seze, a young man, to assist them. When the defence was composed, it was read to the king, who approved it in general, but ordered the omission of every expression relating to his virtues, or which seemed to appeal to the commisseration of the public.

The next, being Christmas day, he spent entirely in the duties of religion, and in composing that celebrated will which reflects so much honour on his principles and character.

His counsel were treated with great insult: one of the commissioners told Malesherbes, he ought not to have such freedom of ingress, as he might furnish the king with poison. "If I should," he replied, "the king is too sincere a Christian to make use of it." His majesty felt the firmest persuasion that the proof of his innocence would not procure his acquittal; he therefore prepared for the event with magnanimity.

Those who espoused the cause of the king in the convention, had obtained a decree, that no person should be admitted into the galleries, till a certain hour in the morning. In contempt of this regulation, the mob had taken possession the preceding evening; and when Manual moved the decree should be enforced—he was hooted; and the convention forced to pass to the order of the day. Besides those in the galleries, a crowd beset the passages; and groupes were formed in the different streets, who surrounded, insulted, and threatened those deputies, who were supposed to favour the king.

On the morning of the 26th, the king left the Temple, attended as before; notwithstanding the importance of the occasion, he conversed with cheerfulness all the way. General Berruyer announced his arrival; and he was introduced in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor and procureur after them, and last, the king and his counsel.

The president said, "Louis, the convention has decreed, that you shall be finally heard this day." The king replied, "M. de Seze, one of my counsel, will read my defence. De Seze then ascended the tribune, and in a distinct tone read that well-known defence, which placed the king's innocence beyond a doubt.

While de Seze was speaking, the king maintained his usual tranquillity. De Seze having finished, the king arose, and in a calm manner said, "Citizens, you have heard my defence; I now speak to you perhaps for the last time, and declare that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth. I never was afraid of having my conduct publicly investigated, but I am most sensibly afflicted to find in the act of accusation, a charge that I desired to shed the blood of the people; and particularly, that I occasioned the misfortunes of the tenth of August. I confess that the numerous instances I have given on every occasion, of my love of the people, and the manner in which I have conducted myself, appeared to me fully sufficient to prove how little I feared exposing my own safety, in order to avoid bloodshed, and to have effectually prevented such an imputation." The king was then ordered to retire.

While waiting in the chambre des conferences, the king expressed the most anxious solicitude for M. de Seze, fearing his violent exertions in the convention would injure his health.

The king having retired, a violent debate took place, on the motion of Manuel, to adjourn for three days, and print the defence, and send it to the departments. On the other side, it was urged, the convention should pronounce sentence without delay. At length it was decreed, that every member should deliver his opinion from the tribune before the day fixed for appel nominal, and that the convention should occupy itself solely with this trial.

The decree for hearing the opinion of every member threatened to be productive of so much delay, that in a few days it was repealed; and those who had composed discourses for the occasion, were ordered to lay them on the table, that they might be printed, and read by those that wished it. The form and araignment of the questions then took up a whole day. They were in substance: First, Is Louis guilty or not? Second, Shall the judgment to be pronounced be submitted to the people in primary assemblies? Third, What punishment has he incurred?

On the first appel nominal (Is Louis guilty or not?) there was a general affirmative.

On the second appel nominal, (Shall the judgment to be pronounced be submitted to the people in primary assemblies?) which was put to the vote the same day, the division was for the affirmative, 283; for the negative, 424;—majority 147.

The third appel nominal, (What punishment has he incurred?) occasioned a discussion which lasted two days, because almost every member accompanied his vote with some reason or reflection. The number of suffrages was reduced by refusals to vote to 721; of these 361 would have formed a majority. On casting up the votes, it appeared that 34 had given their opinions for death, with various restrictions; 2, for perpetual imprisonment; and 319 for confinement or banishment;—total, 355. The number of votes for death absolutely was 366; majority, 11. The president, after enumerating the suffrages, said, "The punishment pronounced against Louis is, DEATH."

Whatever had been the hopes and wishes of Orleans, it would be expected he should abstain from voting on the question which decided the fate of his unfortunate cousin. The murmurs excited by his votes on the first and second appel nominal might have induced reflection before the third was proposed. But he excited the horror even of that assembly, and has entailed on himself the execration of posterity, by the sentence he read from the tribune: "Influenced by no consideration, but that of performing my duty; convinced that all who have conspired, or who shall hereafter conspire against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death, I VOTE FOR DEATH!" This conduct, which excited great indignation in the people, produced no other effect in the king's mind, than a sense of the degraded state of his persecutor. "I do not know," he said, "what I have done to my cousin, to make him behave to me in the manner he has; but he is to be pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him."

When the sentence had been pronounced, the king's counsel were admitted. De Seze, after a short exordium, read the following letter from the king:

"I owe to my honour, to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot reproach myself. I therefore appeal to the nation at large from the decision of its representatives; and I do, by these presents, charge my counsel, on their fidelity, by all means in their power, to make this appeal known to the convention, and to require that it may be mentioned in the minutes of their sittings.

"Done at Paris, the 16th of January, 1793.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

This paper having been read, each of the counsel enforced its contents, with a few observations, representing the illegality and cruelty of the sentence. The convention passed to the order of the day, and on the morrow took into consideration the question of delaying the sentence.

The convention then decreed, "That the executive council should be summoned, and a copy of the decree, which pronounces sentence of death against Louis, delivered to them; that the executive council should notify the decree to Louis in the course of the day, and cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours after it had been notified to him; that the mayor and municipal officers should be enjoined to suffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he might desire in his last moments.

When Garat attended with the decree, "Louis," said he, in a faultering voice, "the executive council is ordered to notify to you, the decree which the convention passed last night." The secretary then read the decree. At the words, *conspired against the general safety of the nation*, the king was shocked, but heard his sentence with unalterable calmness. He replied, by making some demands he considered essential to his comfort in his last moments, and which were contained in a paper he gave Garat to present to the council. The contents were these:

"I demand a delay of three days to prepare myself to appear in the presence of my God; to see in private M. de Fremont (Edgeworth;) to be freed from the unceasing watchfulness which, for some days past, the *commune* has constantly exercised; to communicate, in private, with my family. That the convention will take into consideration the fate of my family, and permit them to retire wherever they please. I recommend to the nation those persons who were attached to me, many of whom have no means of subsistence but the pensions I allowed them; also those individuals who have expended their whole fortunes in procuring situations about me."

Several of these requests had been anticipated by the decree of the preceding day. On hearing the paper read, the convention referred to that decree. With respect to the king's family and servants, they gave an evasive though flattering answer: "The national convention authorizes the executive council to reply to Louis, that the French nation, *great in its beneficence* as *it is rigorous in its justice*, will take care of his family, and provide for it a suitable fate." This was also understood to extend to his servants. The delay was *peremptorily refused.*

The Abbe Edgeworth had been apprised by Malesherbes, that the king would probably desire his services, if he could obtain permission to attend. Garat sent for him, and asked, "If he would go to Louis in the temple?" "Unquestionably I will," replied the abbe; "the king's request is to me an order." Garat then took him in his carriage; but struck with the danger to Edgeworth, frequently exclaimed, "What a dreadful commission."

While on their way to the temple, the abbe requested he might be allowed to attend the king in priest's vestments, but was refused. Before he was allowed to ascend the staircase, he was strictly searched, and his snuff-box taken away, lest it contained poison.

When Edgeworth was introduced to his majesty, the sight of his calm dignity, contrasted with the horrid countenances of those who surrounded him, greatly affected him. The king expressed a wish to be left alone with his confessor. As soon as the room was cleared, the Abbe fell on his knees, kissed his majesty's hand, which he bathed with tears. The king was so affected wih this mark of respect, that he also wept. " Excuse me, M. Edgeworth," said he ; " none but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them; but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

The king then led the Abbe into his closet, and read over to him his will, with a firm voice, except at those places where mention is made of his queen, children, and sister. He then inquired after several of his friends, forgave and pitied his enemies, particularly the Duke of Orleans, and deplored the fate of his deluded subjects.

When he finished conversing, he rose to make his last visit to his family, saying, that would be his severest trial ; but when it was over, he should fix his mind solely on what concerned his salvation.

Leaving Edgeworth in his closet, the king went to the apartment where his family assembled. The interview lasted more than an hour. A scene more awful and affecting cannot be imagined. The king entered the room with calmness ; and as he was alone, freed from his guards, his family enjoyed a momentary hope, that better days were about to arise. The silence of the king, his embraces, the tears which his efforts could no longer restrain, produced cries of despair, which were heard beyond the precincts of the temple. When it became necessary to separate, he had occasion for some exertions to tear himself away from their passionate embraces, and convulsive grasps. He gave them hopes of another meeting ; but his last expressive look contradicted his words. His wife and sister fell senseless ; his daughter was in a state which, for some time, rendered her recovery doubtful. The dauphin ran after him, his voice lost in sobs, rapidly traversed the outward apartments, descended the stairs, and reached the court-yard of the temple. He addressed the guards in the most pathetic terms of supplication, his hands clasped, and throwing himself on his knees, "Let me pass, gentlemen, let me pass! I want to speak to the people—to entreat them not to kill my papa. Oh, gentlemen, let me pass, in the name of God, pray do not hinder me!" His entreaties were vain; they compelled him to return.

When the king returned, he was in a state of great emotion. As he recovered himself he said to Edgeworth, " Alas! why do I love with so much tenderness, and why am I so tenderly beloved ?" After a few minutes, he began a religious conversation, and astonished his confessor by his exemplary piety.

At ten o'clock, Clere entreated him, with tears in his eyes, to take some supper. In compliance to the wish of this faithful friend, the king took some refreshment, and persuaded the abbe to do the same.

Edgeworth then asked the king if he did not desire to hear mass, and receive the sacraments. Louis expressed the most earnest inclination, but added, he despaired of the commissioners allowing it. The abbe, whose zeal was not damped by the insults he had already endured, undertook to solicit permission. On his application, the officer said, " There are examples in history, of priests who have mixed poison with the hostie." Edgeworth calmly replied, " I have been sufficiently searched to satisfy you, but to obviate all doubts, you yourselves may furnish me with the hostie." The council took some time to deliberate, and at length agreed, on condition the priest should write the demand and sign it, and that all should be over before seven in the morning. The king received these tidings with gratitude, and prostrated himself in thanksgiving to God for his mercy.

Valaze then took his place near the King, with the papers, and reading the title put on each by the committee, presented them one by one to the King, and asked, if he avowed it. From so momentary an inspection of so many papers, some pretended to be written by himself, some in the writing of others, and some printed, it might be supposed, some misapprehensions would have ensued. The King, however,

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Valaze. Here is a note signed by the two brothers of the late King, mentioned in the declaratory act.

Louis. I know nothing of it.

Valaze. Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiseul Gouffier, at Constantinople.

Louis. I have no knowledge of them.

Valaze. Here is a letter of the late King to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter, of the 16th of April, 1791.

Louis. I disown it.

President. Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet ?

Louis. I do not.

President. The seal bears the arms of France.

Louis. Several persons made use of that seal.

Valaze. Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles ?

Louis. I do not.

Valaze. Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions ; a letter of Dufresne St. Leon, which relates to it.

Louis. I know none of these pieces.

The President then addressing the King, said :—

I have no other question to propose, have you any thing more to add in your defence ?

Louis. I wish to have a copy of the accusation, and of the papers on which it is founded. I also wish to have counsel of my own nomination.

President. Your two first requests are already decreed, and the determination respecting the other will be made known in due time.

answered without hesitation, and disavowed the greater part. The examination being completed, he was informed he might retire.

The dignified resignation of his manner, the admirable candour of his answers, made such an impression on the audience, that an enemy of loyalty, who was present, declared he was afraid of hearing the cry of "Vive le Roi!" issue from the tribunes; and added, he was convinced, had the King remained ten minutes longer, it would have happened. When he spoke of his happiness in relieving the people, a woman in the gallery, who had come to execrate him, sobbed out, "Oh! my God! how he makes me cry."

It was six in the evening when the king retired from the convention into the *chambre des conferences*. The fatigue of his examination, the agitation of his mind, and the length of his fast, then overcame him "Give me a bit of bread," said the fainting monarch, "for I have eaten nothing all day." The comparison between his condition at that moment, and at former periods, was so affecting:—

> "That had not *God*, for some *strong purpose*, steel'd
> The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,
> And barbarism itself have pitied him."

The king was carried back to the Temple in the same coach, and with the same attendants. Some of the mob exclaimed, "Vive la republique!" others, "a la guillotine!" On the way, Louis asked Chaumette, if he thought counsel would be allowed him. The brutal *procureuer syndic* answered, "It is my duty to conduct you to and from the assembly, and not to answer your questions."

Louis was then entirely separated from his family, nor could his or their entreaties procure him the consolation of even seeing his son.

When the king left the convention, a violent debate took place respecting his demands; at length it was semble those of our Saviour, who will soon be your reward." Instantly the king, with an air of dignified resignation, presented his hands. The executioners drawing the cords with the utmost violence, he mildly said, " There is no need to pull so tight."

While he ascended the scaffold, Edgeworth exclaimed aloud, " LOUIS, SON OF ST. LOUIS, ASCEND TO HEAVEN."

As soon as the king came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step to the part which faced the palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was obeyed. He then pronounced, loud enough to be heard, in the garden of the Tuileries, " *Frenchmen, I die innocent of the crimes imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed,*"

He was continuing, when the brutal Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without intermmission. The executioners seized their victim, and placed him under the axe of the guillotine.

Edgeworth remained kneeling on the scaffold in a state of stupor, till roused by the cries of the populace, when he retired to the house of Malesherbes.

As soon as the act was done, the mob exclaimed, " *Vive la republique !*" One man caught up the bleeding head, and brandishing it with exultation, cried, " *Vive le nation !*" Several persons dipped the points of pikes, handkerchiefs, &c. &c. in the blood. The king's hair had been cut off before he ascended the scaffold, and was sold in small parcels for considerable sums, to persons who still felt loyalty, veneration, or pity.

On the day of this execution, le Duc, an old servant of the king's father, addressed a letter to the convention, praying for leave to inter the body at Lens, with the rest of his family. This request was refused. Chabot said, Louis ought to be buried with other citizens in the place of the section where he last resided. Legendre moved, that he might be permitted to cut the body into eighty-four parts, and send one to each of the departments, and the heart to the convention. The king's body was thrown without ceremony into a hole in the church-yard of St. Mary Magdalen, which was filled with quicklime, and guarded till the body was supposed to be quite consumed, and then levelled, that every trace of the spot where the monarch was deposited might be obliterated.

Thus fell Louis the Sixteenth, on January the 21st, 1793. His untimely end was honoured by a general mourning, in all the countries of Europe.*

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* Louis XVI. son of the dauphin, and of Mary Josephine, of Saxony, the daughter of Frederic Augustus, king of Poland, who was born 23d August 1754, and in consequence of the death of his father, 1765, he exchanged the title of duke of Berry for that of dauphin, and ascended the throne of France on the death of his grandfather, 1774. His union with Marie Antoinette, of Austria, in 1770, was attended by the unfortunate death of above 4000 persons, who had assembled to behold the public rejoicings at Paris. On the day of his elevation to the crown, the young monarch, as if foreboding the miseries which awaited him, exclaimed, O my God, how unfortunate for me! Nevertheless, to repair the misconduct of his predecessors, and to meet the exigencies of an exhausted treasury, a ruined commerce, a shattered marine, and the discontents of a nation loaded with taxes, the new king called around him ministers of credit and ability. Vergennes took the charge of foreign affairs, Turgot presided over the finances, Malesherbes became counsellor of state, Sartine directed the affairs of the marine, and Maurepas was made prime minister. The first act of his reign endeared Louis to his people, and he nobly remitted the tribute which was expected on the accession of a new monarch. Already abuses began to be redressed;

After the death of the King, that of the Queen soon followed. Barrere presented a decree to the Assem-

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the exiled parliament was recalled, and commerce and industry began to recover their usual activity, but unfortunately the American war broke out. Eager to humble England by assisting her revolted colonies, the ministers of Louis pursued a course which was to prove fatal to their master, and disastrous to Europe. By supporting the Americans, they kindled a dreadful war against England, which, while it separated the colonies from the mother country, increased, in a more intolerable degree, the debts of France, and the miseries of her subjects. To repair the ruined finances, proved too mighty a labour for the abilities of Calonne; and the cardinal de Brienne, wishing to gain by violence what his predecessor sought by persuasion, laid severe imposts, which the poverty of the people and the dissatisfaction of the great, could not discharge. The parliament of Paris was exiled to Troyes, for refusing to register these unpopular taxes; and when recalled by the fatal moderation of the monarch, they, instead of complying, called for the meeting of the States General of the kingdom, to assist in the difficulties of the government. Obedient to the general voice of the people, Louis convoked the States General, which met at Versailles, 5th May, 1789. But while the three orders, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, disputed which should be exempted from contributing to the burdens of the state, dissention arose between them, and instead of labouring earnestly all for the public good, each sought for the aggrandizement of his own order, and listened to the voice of the factious and the intriguing. The troops which surrounded Paris gave offence to the deputies; and at the voice of the hypocritical democrat, Mirabeau, the people of Paris arose, and on the 14th July, 1789, they seized the Bastile, and after the most atrocious barbarities, bid defiance to the government. Though the mild character of the monarch, and the hesitating measures of his ministers, seemed to promise every concession, the factious leaders of the populace determined to attempt new crimes. On the 5th of October following, an armed multitude, with bly, or Convention, "that Marie Antoinette should be referred to the extraordinary tribunal, and instantly conveyed to the prison of the Conciergerie."

women of the most abandoned and ferocious character, set out from Paris for Versailles. The guards of the palace were murdered, the doors of the apartments were broken open, and the bed, from which the unhappy Queen scarce could escape, was pierced with a thousand stabs. The monarch, surrounded by his terrified family, was with difficulty spared, but it was to suffer new indignities. He was immediately hurried to Paris, preceded by the insulting cavalcade; while around his carriage were presented on pikes, with the grossest exclamations, the heads of his faithful servants who had been murdered in defence of his person. Placed as a prisoner in the palace of the Tuileries, he made every sacrifice which could restore tranquillity; and the 14th of February 1790, he gave his assent to the new constitution, which reduced his power to a mere shadow. Notwithstanding these humiliating concessions, he was still insulted; murder and insurrection still continued, or rather were encouraged; and at the last, tired of a situation which left him no prospect of liberty, the monarch escaped privately from Paris, 21st June, 1791, and nearly reached the frontiers of France. His person, however, was recognised at Varennes, and he was brought back to Paris to endure fresh indignities. Though treated with seeming respect by the National Assembly, the insults of the populace were not checked, and on the 20th of June, 1792, a ferocious mob forced its way to the palace, and threatened the destruction of the royal family. Louis, undismayed, presented himself to these barbarians, and for two hours, disarmed them of their murderous fury, till Petion, with hypocritical marks of respect, came to liberate the monarch from this perilous situation. The events of this day warned Louis of his approaching fate, and it is said, that now he began to write his will, and to prepare himself for death. The declaration of war by the Emperor, and Prussia against France, and the threats of the Duke of Brunswick, and his invasion of Champagne, roused

On the night this decree passed, two municipal officers went to the temple to execute it. The Queen

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more powerfully the resentment of the mob, as they were taught, by their flagitious leaders, that these measures were dictated by their imprisoned monarch. In the midst of these events, with a victorious enemy approaching the capital, and an ungovernable multitude thirsting for blood, the 10th of August, still more terrible than all others, came : the tocsin was sounded, the Tuileries attacked, and the faithful Swiss guards murdered in every avenue of the palace. Already the cannon was pointed against the apartments of the monarch, when he was persuaded to fly for safety to the hall of the assembly, and though often interrupted by the sight of heaps of slain, by the shrieks of the dying, and by the outrageous insults of the mob, he reached this spot, where he heard his name treated with studied indignity, his power suspended, and his sentence of imprisonment pronounced. Confined in one of the towers of the Temple, he for some time was permitted to enjoy the soothing company of his family ; but as his tyrants increased in power, they decreased in compassion and humanity. The convention succeeded the assembly, and they not only decreed the abolition of royalty in France, but they proclaimed the necessity of trying their fallen monarch. Depicted, in the speeches of this vile assembly, as a tyrant and a traitor, Louis had no mercy to expect from such perjured judges. Though deprived of pen and paper, and of every means by which he might have prepared himself, he appeared with his usual serenity before this murderous tribunal, and his answers to interrogatories, he maintained the dignity of the monarch, and the firmness of the Christian. Though thus insulted, yet an apparent show of candor in the convention, permitted his faithful ministers, Malesherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, to appear at their bar as his defenders ; but neither the tears nor the venerable appearance of these aged and illustrious men, nor the present misfortunes, the past greatness and well-known innocence of Louis, could avail. On the 17th, Jan. 1793, he was condemned to death, but was in bed. They insisted on her rising instantly. They then searched her pockets, and took away their contents. She earnestly, but in vain, begged to be allowed to retain a small pocket-book. She took an affecting farewell of her daughter and sister; her son she was not allowed to see. In the court-yard, a

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only by a majority of five voices. He heard of his fatte with composure and resignation; but his parting with the queen and his family, was tender and affecting beyond the power of description. On the 21st he was conveyed to the scaffold, attended by M. Edgeworth, a catholic priest, and on the fatal spot he attempted to address the multitude which surrounded him, but the beating of drums drowned his voice. As he placed himself on the machine, his confessor fervently exclaimed, O son of St. Louis ascend to heaven, and that moment his head was severed from the body. His remains were conveyed to the church-yard of St. Magdalen, aud immediately consumed in quick lime. He left a son, who in history bears the name of Louis XVII. and as if to offer new indignity to a throne that had crumbled to the dust, this young prince, aged eight, was intrusted to the care of Simon, a shoe-maker, and died soon after from the rude treatment he received, or as some suppose, from poison. His daughter, after seeing the murder of her parents, and of her aunt, was exchanged with Austria for the deputies detained by the imperialists, and she married her cousin, the duke of Angouleme. Louis, regarded as a monarch, but not contemplated with the misfortunes which closed his life, must be acknowledged to be a virtuous and amiable man. His letters display the goodness of a benevolent heart, attached to religion, anxious to do good, and eager to maintain integrity and uprightness. If as a monarch he had possessed greater resolution, and more firm consistency of character, he might have averted the miseries which awaited him; and instead of marching to a scaffold, he might have upheld the honor of the throne, repressed insurrection, and restored the kingdom to tranquillity, happiness, and prosperity.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dic.*

hackney coach was waiting to receive her; the officer offered his hand to assist her into the carriage, but she refused his assistance.

On her arrival at the Conciergerie, the barking of two mastiffs threw her into convulsions, from which she did not recover till next morning. Her cell, which was half under ground, was but eight feet square, with a straw mattrass in one corner. Soon after her arrival, she petitioned the municipality for a few necessaries, which were refused.

Grief and agitation had brought on a premature old age; her beauty was gone. The officers of the police, to gratify a barbarous curiosity, and their own avarice, daily introduced into her cell a number of people, to gaze on the ruins of degraded royalty.

In this miserable abode, the Queen had been confined two months, when the end of her sufferings approached. An act of accusation was drawn up, full of absurd allegations, and outrageous calumnies.

Having been summoned before the revolutionary tribunal, she was interrogated, respecting the facts alleged. In her examination, she displayed the utmost firmness, answering with such force and precision, as frequently retorted the accusation on her judges. Counsel were then assigned her, and the next day fixed for her trial.

On the 15th of October, she was again brought before the tribunal, and witnesses were called to support the various charges. Most of these were brought from the prisons, and knew their only chance of life depended on their allegations against the Queen, who displayed the greatest presence of mind, and frequently gave instances of that forcible style of laconic expression, suited to insulted majesty. The following will serve as examples:

Observation. "That it was she who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation, by which he had too long deceived the French nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villainy could be carried to such a degree."

Answer. "*Yes, the people have been deceived,—most cruelly deceived; but not by me or my husband.*"

Q. By whom then has the people been deceived?

A. *By those who felt it their interest, but it never was ours.*

Q. Not content with dilapidating the finances of France for your intrigues and pleasures, you have sent thousands of millions to the Emperor, to serve against the nation that fostered you.

A. Never: I know this mean artifice has often been employed to my prejudice. I loved my husband too sincerely to dilapidate the treasures of his country. My brother did not want money from France; and from the same principle which attached me to France, I would not have given him any.

The interrogatories being closed, Tainville moved for judgment: the Queen was taken out of the hall; and Herman, the president, summed up the evidence.

The jury retired about half an hour, and returned a verdict of guilty.

The Queen was then brought back, and asked if she had any objection to make to the sentence; but conscious of having defended herself rather with a view to manifest innocence, than avoid condemnation, she bowed in token of submission. Her counsel declined making any opposition. The president then pronounced sentence of death, and immediate execution.

It was half past four o'clock, when the Queen was remanded to prison, and put into the cell of condemned criminals. At five, the generale was beat. At seven, the whole armed force was drawn out, and cannon placed on the bridges, and in the squares. At half past eleven, the Queen was placed in a tumbril, with her back to the horse, a mode of conveyance reckoned peculiarly infamous; her neck and shoulders bare, and her hands tied behind her. By her side was seated the curate of St. Landrey, (a constitutional priest, with whom she could not communicate,) and the executioner. She maintained her usual firmness and courage the whole way. When she ascended the scaffold, she looked towards the garden of the Tuileries with some appearance of agitation. The executioner performed his office. Her head was displayed to the multitude, her corpse interred like that of her husband, in the church-yard of *la Madelaine*, and the grave filled up with quicklime.*

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* Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, Arch-Duchess of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Francis I. and of Maria Theresa, was born at Vienna, 2d Nov. 1755. On the 16th May, 1770, she married the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XVI. and her arrival in France was celebrated with every demonstration of public joy On that remarkable occasion, however, it was observed by those who seek for calamitous events in the fortuitous accidents of time, that the two tempestuous storms of thunder and rain which prevailed, forebode her future misfortunes, and on the festivities of the city of Paris on the 30th of the same month, more than 1200 persons were crushed to death by the falling of a temporary building erected on the occasion, and numbers perished in the waters of the Seine, by being precipitated from the Pont Royal These melancholy accidents were alleviated as much as possible by the humanity of the foreign Princess, who sent all her money to the lieutenant of police, for the relief of the unfortunate sufferers, and every where conciliated the affection and the esteem of the people. Other acts of charity have been recorded to her honour, and form some of the most pleasing subjects, which employed the pencil of Dagoti, and on the death of Louis XV., when according to ancient usage, a tax is contributed by the people for the girdle of the new Queen, as it is called, Maria nobly declined the compliment. In the severe frost of 1788, she contributed much to the relief of the suffering poor, and her munificence was acknowledged by the gratitude of the Parisians, who erected a pyramid of snow in the street of St. Honore, to her honour. These marks of respect were nearly as

The life of the Princess Elizabeth had been so virtuous, so beneficent, so exempt from reproach, that

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transitory as the snowy pyramid; Antoinette, unfortunately surrounded by flatterers, who fanned her pleasures, and gratified her inclinations, was represented as voluptuous and criminal, and the celebrated trial concerning the necklace, served in some degree to raise the indignation of the public against her conduct. The poverty of the treasury was invidiously attributed to her extravagance; but though she was too liberal in her expenses, nothing criminal could be proved against her. As if foreseeing the calamities of the state, she opposed with all her influence, the convocation of the states, which was to lead her and her husband to the scaffold; but though calumniated and insulted, she maintained her dignity, and made the happiness of her husband the first wish of her heart. The ferocious events of the revolution brought on the 6th of October, when the sanguinary cannibals of Paris appeared at Versailles, threatening aloud that they would tear her to pieces. The doors of her apartment were battered down, and the bed from which she had just escaped was pierced through with a thousand stabs; yet in the midst of this dreadful attack, Antoinette exhibited her usual serenity, and presenting herself alone on the balcony, she changed, by her noble demeanor, the fury of the populace into admiration and shouts of applause. Forced to accompany the King to Paris, in a journey of six hours, while the heads of two of her murdered body guards were raised on pikes by the side of her carriage, and while insults, threats and blasphemies every moment rent the air, she preserved the same undaunted courage. After the flight to Varennes, her magnanimity did not desert her, and when questioned by the insidious deputies, she replied with becoming dignity. On the 20th June and the 10th August, 1792, those days of horror and anarchy, she again saw herself insulted, and with difficulty saved from the hands of assassins, and in the Assembly, she heard unmoved the decrees which robbed the monarch of his throne, and which called on the most worthless of his subjects to try him as a criminal. She no sooner heard of the condemnation of her husband, than she congratulated him on the termination of his sufferings;

even the infamous faction of Robespierre found some difficulty in framing her act of accusation. At length,

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and after parting from him in an agony of grief, her only request to his murderers was, to give her a suit of mourning, which she wore till her own fate was decided. That she might not feel the comforts of the afflicted, in sharing her sorrows with her family, she was torn from her son, 4th July, 1793, and a month after, an armed force entered her cell in the middle of the night, and forced her from her bed of straw to a low and damp dungeon. On the 3d of October, she was carried before the revolutionary tribunal, and accused of squandering the public money, and of exhausting the treasury to enrich her brother the Emperor, and of holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemies of her country; but the crimination could not be proved, and her sufferings failed not to excite interest in her favour, even among her prejudiced judges. It was then that the miscreants charged the unhappy Queen with attempts to corrupt the morals of her own son; a scandalous imputation, which roused all her feelings; I appeal, exclaimed she, in a burst of noble indignation, I appeal to all mothers, whether an action so odious is possible. Nothing, however, could avail, she retired fatigued to her dungeon, after being detained 18 hours before her cruel judges, and the following morning, at 11, she was summoned to ascend the cart, which was to conduct her to the scaffold. She obeyed with dignity, and in profound silence, and after viewing with unusual attention as she passed, the palace of the Tuileries, the former scene of her greatness and her pleasures, she mounted the scaffold with precipitation, and falling on her knees, prayed for forgiveness on her murderers, and bidding adieu to her absent children, to whose father she was again to be united, she laid down her head on the fatal machine, and lifting up her eyes to heaven, closed them in death, 16th Oct. 1793. She was then near 38, but it is remarkable, that her misfortunes had changed the colour of her hair to a silvery white, and her countenance, which, with every feature of beauty, once beamed benignity and love, had assumed an aspect of dejection and settled melancholy, and she had nearly lost the use of one of her eyes, from the damp and unwholesome air she was accused of having dressed the wounds of some federes, whom the Marcellois had wantonly attacked on their arrival in Paris; that she had sent her diamonds to the Count d'Artois; and that since the death of the King, she had treated the young Prince with distinctions due to royalty.

Her answers to the interrogatories put to her, were frank, and obviously true. As a last effort, she was asked, "Whether she had not comforted her nephew with the hopes of succeeding to his father's throne?" She replied, "I have conversed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who has many claims to my affection; and I gave him all those consolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loss of his parents." This answer was construed into an acknowledgment of a plot "to build up the wrecks of a subverted throne, by deluging it with the blood of the patriots." On this observation, the Princess was condemned, without a single witness being examined.

Twenty-four persons were tried and condemned at the same time, for the same conspiracy, and all were executed the same day. The Princess suffered last.

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to which she was exposed. Her body was thrown into the Magdalen church-yard, and immediately consumed with quicklime. In the powers of her mind, Antoinette had been carefully cultivated; she spoke French with purity, and the Italian as her native tongue, and she was so well acquainted with Latin, that when twice addressed in that language, she made an immediate extemporaneous reply in the same language, and with elegance. She was well versed in geography, and had bestowed also much time on the reading of history. She had four children, Maria Theresa Charlotte, born 1778, who married her cousin the Duke of Angouleme, Louis, born 1781, who died 1789, Charles Louis, born 1785, who died 1793, and a daughter, who died an infant. Her life has been published by various authors, bu: that of Mad. Guenard, 3 vols. 12mo. is recommended by the French biographers.—*Lempriere's Biog. Dictionary.*

Her conduct on her trial and on the scaffold, till the moment of her death, was calculated to prove the firmness and composure which religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid.

The young Prince, after the most brutal treatment, and deprivation of every comfort, expired in prison, not without strong suspicion of his fate having been accelerated by poison.

From the time of the King's imprisonment to his death, the faction self-styled National Convention, constantly kept their sittings, for the purpose of passing and executing the most inhuman decrees.

From the first sitting, two parties arose, whose increasing violence towards each other, was the cause of destruction to almost every member of this bloody tribunal. Brissot, Petion, and Vergniaux were at the head of the Gironde party: and Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Chabot and Couthon headed that of the Mountain. The latter party, by a system of intrigue, were the most popular. By such men as these, France was governed, and although they quarrelled among themselves, when the interest of an individual, or a party belonging to their own body was concerned, yet, when a decree was offered, touching the life or property of a royalist, or which affected the "interest of the republic," as they termed it, they were generally united.

This Convention, as it will now be called, passed a decree of fraternity, by which assistance was offered to any nation desirous of obtaining its freedom; and the Generals, at the head of their armies, were empowered to protect such foreign citizens, as had suffered, or might suffer, in the cause of freedom.

As this decree struck at the root of all European governments, and tended to encourage treason, and foment civil discord, England joined Prussia and Austria, and declared war against France. On the 31st of May, the Mountain faction planned a decree of accusation against the Gironde party. The command of the national guard was given to Henriot, one of the Mountain party, who surrounded the Convention with 60,000 men. The tocsin was sounded, the generale beat, and the whole city of Paris was in the most dreadful consternation. Meantime, the Mountain sent a deputation to the Convention, demanding the heads of twenty-two members of the Gironde. The members named, were immediately seized and sent to prison, to await their trial.

The imprisonment of these members gave Robespierre and his party a decided ascendancy in the Convention, and the will of this faction now became the law of France. Many of the deputies of the Convention immediately escaped from Paris, and took refuge in their own departments. But they were hunted from place to place; some fell into the hands of their enemies, and suffered on the scaffold; some perished by famine; some committed suicide, and few escaped, after suffering the most dreadful privations.—A just and speedy punishment for having dipped their hands into the blood of their King and Queen.

The despotism of France now divided itself into two councils, one called the Committee of Public Safety, and the other the Committee of General Safety.

The object of this faction seemed to be, the extermination of every thing great or valuable in society. If a father afforded any support to his exiled son; if a daughter, from her dungeon, wrote to her agonized mother; this bloody tribunal doomed them to the scaffold, while rewards were given to those who betrayed their nearest connexions to death!

The Jacobins required that terror should be the order of the day; and that the law ordaining that members should be heard before passing an accusation against them, should be repealed. The forms of trial were totally disregarded, and the victims whose lives were required, were insulted by a pretence of a trial by jury. It was, in fact, a cruel mockery, to give the name of jury to a number of men permanently established in their situation; not elected by the prisoner, or subject to be challenged; deliberating in public, and pronouncing, separately, their opinions aloud. Their deliberations were a mere farce, for some of the judges daily attended Robespierre, with a list, from which he marked out a certain number with a cross, and they were devoted to certain destruction. The powers of this tribunal were so extensive, that it was almost impossible for innocence to escape. The only punishment they pronounced was death, and that was applied to such indefinite crimes as, favouring the immunity of aristocracy; calumniating patriotism; seeking to vilify the revolutionary tribunal; to corrupt the public mind and conscience; and stopping the progress of revolutionary principles. No witnesses were heard. The rule of the sentence was the conscience of the jurors. No person denouncing another, was obliged to assign his motives, to discover his name, or place of abode. The party denounced, was arrested without proof, insulted by the court, and condemned without mercy.

Who could describe the horrors which at this period stained the soil of France? What narration could convey an adequate idea? A recapitulation of the cases of the various sufferers, would fill volumes, without exhibiting a clear picture of the horror, distraction, and desolation that pervaded the country.

The external profession of religion, that corrector of the heart, and consolation in affliction, was abolished by a public decree. The doctrine, that death is an eternal sleep, was publicly avowed, and an attempt made to substitute for Christianity a sort of metaphysical Paganism: thereason they had so abused, and the liberty they had so outraged, were exalted as deities, for the maddened populace to worship!

Meantime, the Courts of London and Vienna took measures to bring a large body of troops into the field, for the purpose of crushing this terrible faction.

The French convention, although constantly passing decrees against the lives of their own citizens, were also making immense preparations to repel foreign invasion. The expenses of government were incalculable. The committee of surveilance, (that host of spies) was maintained at an expense of nearly thirty-two millions sterling a year. Cities were crowded with manufactories of saltpetre, towns were converted into founderies, and palaces into arsenals, to supply the elements of destruction. The people were robbed of the necessaries of life, and their provisions taken under the law of requisition, to supply the army.

At length, in the fall of 1793, the allied armies, consisting of Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, Prussians and Hessians, assembled on the frontiers of France, and began an invasion of her territories. But notwithstanding the advantages at first gained by the allies, it was evident that the immense numbers, and systematic exertions of the republican armies would finally preponderate, and after repeated losses, the allied armies were compelled to retreat in every direction.

At Paris, Robespierre having dipped his hand in the blood of thousands of innocent victims, at last came to the scaffold himself. On the 27th of July, 1794, Varennes had the courage to accuse Robespierre openly before the convention, After having recounted with energy his acts of oppression and blood, he ended by moving "that Robespierre and his creatures be immediately arrested." This motion was passed amidst tumults of applause. Barrere, chief of the committee of public safety, joined without reserve in the invectives against the fallen tyrant. Robespierre was petrified with horror and amazement, thinking himself beyond the reach of the law. Henriot, one of his creatures, being commander of the national guards, and himself included in the decree of accusation, attempted his rescue, but his soldiers forsook him. After a fruitless resistance, several of the outlawed attempted to kill themselves. Two succeeded, and Robespierre was found with a pistol in his hand, which he discharged on the entrance of his pursuers. He was fired on, and one shot wounded him in the head and the other broke his jaw. In this situation he was carried to the revolutionary tribunal, with twenty-one of his accomplices, and from thence to the place of execution. He suffered last, but remained speechless and stupified with the horrors of the scene.

His death occasioned the greatest rejoicings, among the populace, who followed him to the place of execution. He died at the age of thirty-six; and his death afforded a most ample vindication of eternal justice. He who had shed blood with such profusion, went to the scaffold covered with his own blood; he who had banished from France the sentiment of humanity, was in his last moments overwhelmed with scorn, derision, and cruelty; he, whose life had been a scene of perfidy and ingratitude, died renounced by all, and was led to the execution without ceremony and without trial.

After the death of this bloody tyrant and his associates, an alteration and melioration took place in the government of France. The Mountain party were entirely abolished, and the jacobin club broken up.—At the same time, thousands were released from prison, who would have perished on the scaffold, had not this terrible faction been abolished. The royal party at La Vendee, who had taken arms against the republicans, were now offered an amnesty. So terrible had been the destruction of these people, that Henriot exultingly declared before the convention, that of eighty thousand who had taken arms against the republic, not a single individual remained alive!

The war with the allies was attended with signal successes to the French arms. At no period of the history of France had so many conquests been made as at the beginning of the revolution. A list of them was hung in the hall of the Convention, from which it appeared that the republic had taken, and were in possession of, ten provinces in the Austrian Netherlands; the Seven United Provinces; the bishopricks of Liege, Worms, and Spires; the electorates of Treves, Cologne and Mentz; the duchy of Deux Ponts; the Palatinate; and the duchies of Juliers and Cleves in the North, and in the South they had made the conquest of the duchy of Savoy, with the Principalities of Nice and Monaco in Italy.

The effect of such a series of successes, tended to weaken the coalition, and discourage all hopes of crushing the republic. The grand duke of Tuscany, therefore, acknowledged the new government of France in 1795. He was soon followed by the King of England, who, as elector of Hanover, notified his accession to the treaty between France and Prussia, and ordered all armed emigrants to quit his Germanic territory.

These successes over their foreign foes did not however tend to unite the internal dissensions with which the capital was constantly torn. It was therefore moved in the convention that an executive power had become necessary to the safety of the nation. After long discussions the act was passed on the 23d of August, 1795. By this act the legislative power was vested in two councils. The Legislative Council, by whom the laws were proposed, and the Senate, by whom they were confirmed. One third of each council was to be chosen every year. The executive power was delegated to a directory of five members, one of which was to go out, by rotation, every year, and be replaced by a new one. Resistance was made, as usual, to this new constitution, and several sanguinary tumults ensued; but the convention was triumphant, the government was established, and the palace of Luxembourg appointed for the residence of the executive power. The convention then dissolved itself.

Meantime the Austrians gained several victories over the arms of the Republic, and retook a considerable portion of their conquest at the North. The French had also been unfortunate at sea, having lost near fifty ships during the year.

In 1796, hostilities were doomed to take a wider range, and the unoffending inhabitants of the Alps and Tyrolese mountains, as well as those on the banks of the Danube and Po, were destined to experience all the horrors of war.

The armies of the allies were commanded by General Colli and Baron Beaulieu; while the directory of France placed at the head of their forces *General Buonaparte*, who at this time was almost unknown in the army, and who was entirely indebted to Barras, one of the directors, for this elevation.

As soon as the snow disappeared, Bonaparte prepared to take the field, and hostilities began by an attack of the Austrians on the French at Valtri, in which they were successful. But Bonaparte having sent General Massena to gain the rear of the enemy, this circumstance threw the Austrians into the utmost confusion. They fled and were pursued to Millesimo, where a general engagement took place, attended with great slaughter, and ended with a loss to the Austrians of 8000 prisoners and 32 pieces of cannon. A truce was then entered into, the conditions of which tended to shew the advantage gained by the French, and the fallen fortunes of the monarch.

The aristocracy of Venice now saw the necessity of yielding to Gallic democracy; and in pursuance of this policy, the eldest brother of the late king, now styled Louis XVIII. was commanded to quit the Venetian territory.

On the 7th of May, Bonaparte obtained the victory of Fombio. The dukes of Parma and Modena were compelled to sue for peace, which was granted on condition of their paying ten millions of livres, and giving up a certain number of the most valuable paintings in the world, to adorn the museum which was now begun in Paris.

Bonaparte then hastened to Lodi, on the river Adda, where finding the bridges defended by the Austrian artillery, in such a manner as to make it extremely hazardous to attempt it, the army halted. Four hundred grenadiers, however, in the face of death, attempted to force the passage, and about one half were instantly killed. Bonaparte then seized the standard, and at the head of a number of volunteers, rushed forward, and in a moment the fate of the day was decided.

In his despatches to the directory, Bonaparte says, "of all the actions in which the troops under my command have been engaged, none has equalled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi."

In consequence of this success, Bonaparte obtained possession of Pavia, Milan, and the principal part of Lombardy. Soon after, Leghorn, Bologna, Urbins and Ferrara, were added to the list of conquests. Both the Pope of Rome and the King of Naples now sued for an armistice with an enemy which carried conquest or destruction wherever they went. It was granted on condition of his withdrawing all assistance from the allied army. But the Pope was compelled not only to cede the towns already in possession of the French, but to add Ancona, together with a contribution of twenty-one millions of francs, and a *present* of one hundred pictures, statues and vases, to be selected from the galleries at Rome.

As a minute detail of all the campaigns of the revolution cannot be entered into in this short account, those under the immediate command of Bonaparte will be chiefly attended to, in order to mark the principal events of his life.

In 1797, Bonaparte, at the opening of the campaign, at several battles, took 20,000 Austrians, killed 6000, took 50 pieces of cannon, 24 stands of colours, and all the enemy's baggage ; together with the whole convoy of grain and oxen, which it was the intention of the Austrians to have thrown into Mantua. Mantua, itself, after having been defended by Gen. Wurmser, until his troops, suffering with famine, had devoured all their horses, fell into the hands of the conquering General.

Bonaparte now published a proclamation, reproaching the Pope with perfidy, and declaring the armistice at an end, threatening, at the same time, to take vengeance on all who should oppose the republican arms, he marched forward with his army. After several dreadful encounters, the papal forces were defeated, and Rome being in the most alarming commotion, the Pope sent him a letter, written with his own hand, promising to subscribe to any reasonable conditions. The victor, in reply, expressed the most perfect esteem for his holiness, and only insisted that he should relinquish the cities Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna, and pay fifteen millions of livres, towards the expenses he had been at to bring his holiness to terms.

On the 2nd of April, the French attacked the Austrians at Newmark, within thirty-five leagues of Vienna, and as usual, overpowered them. The Emperor now resolved to treat for peace, and a suspension of hostilities for nine days was agreed on. On the 18th, the treaty of peace between the Austrians and French, was concluded.

After such successes, Bonaparte was received at Paris with the most rapturous applause by the people, and with every mark of consideration by the government.

In the course of the year, Spain had become the ally of France, and the only formidable power the republic had now to contend with was England.

As if determined to give terms to all Europe, the French Directory now turned their eyes towards that unsubdued Island, and having appointed Bonaparte General of the 'army of England,' ordered troops to assemble on the coast of the British channel. Whether an attempt on England was ever really intended or not, is perhaps uncertain. If so, it was soon abandoned, and the General sought victory in some other quarter.

The civil history of the Republic for this year, presents as formerly, little else but the violent collision of parties; faction supplanting faction for power, while every principle of justice was sacrificed. The executive and legislative bodies were continually in a state of open hostility, and a spirit of extravagance, intrigue and corruption, pervaded every department. In 1798, the war in Italy was renewed, in consequence of the assembling of a mob in front of the palace of Joseph Bonaparte, the French Ambassador at Rome. They came to beg the assistance of France to throw off the Papal yoke, and to be erected into a Republic. Joseph, not being disposed to countenance so hopeless a project, sent Gen. Dusshot to disperse the rabble. While engaged in this service, Dusshot was shot. After a lapse of fourteen hours, the Ambassador, finding that no measure had been taken to avenge this outrage, or provide for his own security, retired into Tuscany.

As soon as these transactions were known, the people of Milan exclaimed, "Death to the assassin Pontiff!" Troops were levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the odium of the murder was, very unjustly, and probably as an excuse, cast upon the Pope. The Directory transmitted orders to Gen. Berthier to march to Rome. The castle of St. Angelo, in which his holiness and cardinals had taken refuge, surrendered on the first summons. Meantime the inhabitants planted the tree of liberty in front of the Capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman Republic. The Pope was conveyed to France, deposed and exiled; and infirm through age, he survived his disgrace only a short time. He died the next year, aged 82.

A war was next declared against Switzerland, whose peaceful inhabitants, in their turn, were made to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility. Near the lake Zug, the French army being enticed into an ambuscade, was completely defeated. A treaty was then concluded, by which the smaller cantons were to remain as before, and not be subject to contributions. But the canton of Underwalden refused to submit on any conditions. This aroused the vengeance of the tyrannical Republic. Fire and sword were sent to overwhelm all who disobeyed. The inhabitants were nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex escaped the fury of the soldiers. The country was subdued, after the most unexampled resistance, and Switzerland, after enjoying the sweets of independence and liberty, for near 400 years, was compelled to submit to the arms of France, and to adopt the republican form of government.

It was now, that Bonaparte, having been at war, and made peace with nearly all the nations of Europe, and not being satisfied with his conquests, turned his attention towards Africa. The grand objects of this expedition were probably, 1st, to make the name of Bonaparte equal in renown to that of Alexander; 2d, to deprive the British of their empire of the east; and, 3d, to levy contributions, and establish tributary colonies.

All preparations being made, Bonaparte set sail, on the 20th of May, 1799, with a veteran army of 40,000 men, immense quantities of military stores, and a large train of artillery. After a passage of fifteen days, he came in sight of Malta, where, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, he began to land his troops, and on the 12th of June, he had command of the whole Island.

Having appointed a provisional government, he again proceeded to sea, and on the 30th of June, the fleet anchored in the roads of Alexandria.

Here he immediately landed his army, and summoned this once famous city to surrender: this being disregarded, the city was taken by assault, and, in order to strike terror into the inhabitants of the whole country at once, and preclude further resistance, a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants took place after they had surrendered. The French now pursued their victories until they came in sight of the Pyramids of Egypt. Here they found six thousand Mamelukes intrenched, and ready to oppose them. Bonaparte immediately gave an order to charge, and after an ineffectual resistance, they were routed, then surrounded, and although they made a furious defence, every man was put to the sword.

This action opened the way to Cairo for the rapacious invaders.

Bonaparte, to conciliate the confidence of the people, published proclamations, declaring that he "had not come to destroy, but to restore the rights of the Mahometans;" and that he himself believed in the Prophet and the Koran; that the first article of his faith was, "there is no God but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." The British government, as soon as it was known, that the French were preparing a great armament, issued orders to defeat the project, though its destination was still a secret.

Rear Admiral Nelson was appointed to command the British fleet, and ordered to follow, destroy or capture that of the French, wherever it might be found. Having obtained information of the course the enemy had taken, he proceeded to the coast of Egypt, and on the 13th of August, he discovered the French fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of ships of the line, and a great number of smaller vessels, moored in battle array in the bay of Aboukir. On the then approaching battle, depended the naval superiority of the two rival nations, the renewal of the war in Europe, the eventual possession of Egypt, and perhaps, of the British empire in India.

The battle commenced in the afternoon, and continued until 10 in the evening. The conflict was one of the most obstinate that ever was fought on the sea. The darkness was such, that the only guide to the operations of the fleets was the flashes from the guns. Admiral Brieux, the commander of the French fleet, after receiving three wounds without quitting his post, was shot dead, and Admiral Nelson was severely wounded. The battle raged with the utmost fury, until the L'Orient, being on fire, and having struck her colours, blew up. To this dreadful explosion succeeded the stillness of death. The firing ceased on both sides. Many of the ships on both sides were mere wrecks. Nelson was victorious; and thus ended the naval expedition of the Republic to Egypt.

After the battle of the Nile, the French army were cut off from all communication with their native country, but they still persevered in the reduction of Egypt, which they however, found infinitely more difficult than was expected. The Mamelukes exhibited astonishing proofs of bravery and dexterity in opposing their invaders. But the most dreadful enemy they had to oppose was the plague, from which there was no retreating, and of which great numbers died.

Nothing can exceed the accounts which writers give of the shocking barbarities authorized by Bonaparte when in Egypt, and for no other crime than attempting to defend themselves from the ravages of a cruel invader, who had come to erect the standard of tyranny over them, these wretched people were slaughtered and plundered without mercy.

On one occasion, after taking Jaffa by assault, 3800 remained alive. Three days after, Bonaparte, to save the expense of maintaining them, ordered the whole to be taken a mile from the town, and there, in cold blood, every man was shot.

At another time, it is said that, finding his hospitals crowded with sick, he caused opium to be given to 580 of his own sick and dying soldiers, of which they all died in one night.

A vast number of French soldiers fell at the siege of Acre, which was continued sixty days. At one time a breach was made, and a large body of soldiers, at the command of Bonaparte, entered the town, but the Turks made such dreadful havoc among them with their sabres, that those who could, made safe their retreat, and the siege was raised.

Bounaparte having nominated Gen. Kleber his successor in command, now took his departure for France, and having escaped the English cruizers, arrived at home in the month of October.

During his absence, hostilities had again commenced in Europe, and the Emperor of Russia had joined the coalition against the French Republic.

He was received in the most flattering manner, and a public festival decreed to his honour.

Soon after his arrival, it was proposed by the executive committee, that a new constitution should be formed, and that the supreme power should be vested in three *Consuls*. The consuls first chosen, were Buonaparte, Sieyes, and Duroc, but the constitution was altered before it was carried into effect, so as to rest the sovereignty in one person, to be styled *Chief Consul*, and who was to hold his office for ten years. Napoleon Buonaparte was then chosen Chief Consul.

Soon after this appointment, the First Consul, at the head of 60,000 men, left Paris to pursue his conquests in Italy; and after having crossed the mountain of Great St. Bernard, with incredible labour, he met the Austrian army at *Marengo*. Here a most obstinate and sanguinary conflict ensued, which ended in the total defeat of the Imperial army, 8000 of whom were killed, and 7000 made prisoners. A definitive treaty was now signed at Luneville, between the Austrian and French governments, by which France gained a large extent of territory. On the First Consul's return to France, a plan was laid to murder him, but it did not succeed; the assassins were discovered and brought to public execution.

The different states of Europe were now eager to solicit a peace with France, and before the close of the year 1801, Buonaparte was at peace with all the world.

Thus ended one of the most bloody and important contests of modern times—a contest in which not one of the great objects originally aimed at by any of the belligerent powers was obtained.

In 1803, France again declared war against England. This rupture was occasioned by an alleged breach of the treaty of Ameins, by both nations.—" Soon after the signing of the treaty in 1801, the First Consul sent a General to Egypt, Syria, and the Grecian Isles, for the purpose of persuading the inhabitants to throw off the Turkish yoke, and to become colonies of France.

The French also sent an armed force into Switzerland.

These acts the British cabinet declared were an infringement of the treaty.

On the other hand, the First Consul accused England of breaking the same treaty, by keeping a British garrison at Malta.

On the declaration of war, all the subjects of Great Britain then in France, were immediately considered prisoners of war.

One of the first hostile acts of the French was to take possession of Hanover, and to convert to their own use all the military stores, artillery &c. which could be found.

About this period, a conspiracy was formed to prevent Buonaparte's gaining unlimited power, and to put an end to his authority. It was not proved that the designs were against his life. Gen. Moreau, one of the conspirators, was banished to America, and Gen. Pichegru, another of them, it was pretended, committed suicide in the temple of the tower, where he had been confined. It is, however, most probable that he was assassinated.

The unfortunate Duke d'Enghien suffered soon after. He resided in the territory of the Elector of Baden, in privacy and peace. But he was a prince of the blood-royal of France, and this was a warrant for his condemnation. He was seized by a party of French dragoons, put in irons, and forced to travel night and day until they arrived at Vincennes. Here, after a mock trial, he was immediately taken out and at one o'clock in the morning shot by torch-light in the ditch of the castle.

The First Consul had by this time acquired unlimited power over the republic, but he was ambitious to obtain something more. Not contented with the Consular robes of republican dignity, he aspired to exchange them for the emblems of Imperial authority. Talleyrand prepared the way, and on the 20th of March, 1804, the Senate directed a letter to Buonaparte, urging the necessity of again filling the vacant throne of France.

Soon after, the President of the Senate proposed the following resolutions:

1. "That the government of France should be confided to one person as Emperor.

2. "That the Imperial government of France should be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Buonaparte, the First Consul."

These resolutions were passed unanimously, with the exception of Carnot, who spoke, and voted against them.

The coronation of Buonaparte took place on Sunday the 2d of December, 1804, and thus the very people who fourteen years before had murdered their King and Queen; who had in cold blood decreed death to Princes and Princesses, for no other reason than because they detested all hereditary distinctions; who had determined if possible to exterminate royalty from the face of the earth, and who had offered to assist all the world in sacrificing Monarchs and Monarchies, to the shrine of republicanism and liberty.—This people, of their own accord, had now created one of the most unbounded monarchies on earth, and placed on their throne a man whom they knew to be the most ambitious tyrant that ever the world beheld.

Not long after his coronation in Paris, the Emperor went to Milan, and there was crowned King of Italy. On this occasion, when Napoleon had ascended the steps of the altar, he took the *iron crown* of the ancient Kings of Lombardy, and placing it on his head, said with a loud voice—"God has given it me—let them beware who touch it." He then took the crown of Italy, and with the same speech placed it on his head, amid the acclamations of the people.

The republic of Genoa now made a request that the Emperor would consent to be their sovereign also, and this was granted.

These transactions excited great indignation in all the different courts of Europe. Russia had sent an ambassador to Paris to treat of peace. But finding that Napoleon was annexing whole kingdoms to his already immense territories, and this in direct violation of a former treaty, Alexander recalled his minister.

A league was now formed between the Empires of Russia, Austria, and England, the objects of which were, 1. The expulsion of the French troops from

Germany. 2. The establishment of the independence of Switzerland and Holland. 3. The re-establishment of the king of Sardinia. 4. The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the evacuation of Italy by the French troops.

All the different powers made vast preparations, and a dreadful slaughter was about to commence, which involved nearly all Europe in blood, horror, and mourning.

The first battle was fought at Wertingen, where 4000 men were killed and made prisoners by the French. The next at Gunsbugh, where the Austrian army was defeated.

The next great object was, the investing of Ulm, which was defended by the famous general Mack, with 30,000 men. This place, which was viewed as impregnable, and of the utmost consequence, was surrendered to Napoleon in person, on the 17th of October, 1805.

Bonaparte now advanced towards *Vienna*, and notwithstanding the Russians assisted the Austrians, in opposing him, he made his grand entrance to the capital of Austria, at the head of his army, on the 14th of November. Here he found 2000 pieces of cannon, and 100,000 muskets. In a few days the allied army collected in great force. It consisted of 80,000 Russians commanded by Alexander in person, and 25,000 Austrians under the command of the Emperor Joseph of Austria.

The Emperor Napoleon's army consisted of 100,000 chosen men.

These armies, with the respective Emperors at their heads, were posted near Austerlitz. On the 2d of December the Russians commenced the attack with great impetuosity, and in a few minutes the action became general, and raged with horrid fury. After various successes on both sides, victory declared in favour of the French. The plains of Austerlitz were one continued gore, and enormous heaps of dead bodies lay piled on each other. Of the Russians, 15,000 were slain, and near 20,000 made prisoners. The Austrians lost 6000 killed, 180 pieces of ordnance, and 40 stands of colours fell into the hands of the French.

When this news reached Paris, the Senate voted a triumphal monument to be erected to Napoleon the Great.

This battle was followed by an armistice, and afterwards a peace.

With a view to humble the king of Prussia, who had been at peace with him, Bonaparte bestowed on his brother-in-law, Murat, the duchies of Berg and Cleves, contrary to treaty. In consequence of this, Frederic declared war against Napoleon, and entered the field against him with 150,000 men. Napoleon met the Prussians at Jena, and a most sanguinary battle followed, in which the Prussians were entirely defeated. Near 20,000 of the royal army were left on the field of battle, and an immense number taken prisoners, among whom there were twenty general officers. Sixty standards and three hundred pieces of artillery also fell into the hands of the French. The king himself escaped with difficulty, attended with a small body of cavalry, and fled to Koningsburg. A few days after, the Emperor of the French made his public entry into the capital of Prussia, with great pomp and parade.

In the month of February, 1807, the Russians encamped at Eylau. Here another bloody engagement took place, in which the Russians, after having displayed the most determined bravery, were finally routed by the Napoleon army. On the following day the battle ground presented a most awful spectacle.—Within the space of one league, 10,000 dead bodies lay prostrate on the field. Here were seen Russians and French lying side by side, with their bodies pierced and mangled, the sickening effects of each others' vengeance.

Napoleon now directed his sole attention to the possession of Dantzick; and after a siege and bombardment, during which the allied army defended the place with undaunted bravery; the city was finally surrendered.

Here the French gained possession of 800 pieces of artillery, an immense quantity of clothing, 500,000 quintals of grain, and several thousand artillery horses.

In the month of June, Napoleon took possession of Koningsberg, where 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, with 160,000 muskets, fell into his hands.

The Emperor of Russia now proposed a suspension of hostilities, to which Napoleon consented, and as soon as the terms were concluded, the two monarchs met each other on a raft, placed in the middle of the river Niemen. Here they embraced, and afterwards signed articles of peace, by which Alexander agreed to recognize the brothers of Napoleon in their new capacities as the Kings of Holland, Naples and Westphalia. By this treaty, which was signed at Tilsit, the King of Prussia was deprived of a considerable portion of his dominions, Prussian Poland being transferred to the King of Saxony.

Napoleon now proceeded to Paris, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. On the next day the Senate assembled, before whom the Emperor gave a sketch of the glorious situation of France. "By the confederation of the Rhine," said the monarch, "France is united to Germany, and by her own peculiar system of federation she is also united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland and Italy. Her relation with Russia is founded on the mutual esteem of two great nations."

After the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon turned his machinations against Spain. His first step was to draw from that kingdom 16,000 of her best troops, and place them where they could not interfere with his views. Then Ferdinand, the King, was enticed out of the kingdom, and a French army was sent to take possession of Madrid. The most horrible massacres were committed, and the Spaniards, being overpowered, were finally compelled to submit to their fate. Joseph Bonaparte was to be King of Spain. Napoleon had so decreed.

Thus did the Emperor of France, by dint of power alone, precipitate from the throne of Spain its hereditary prince, and with a military force drive the inhabitants into submission, while he placed one of his own family in his stead.

Joseph was crowned at Madrid on the 20th of July, 1808.

This conduct occasioned the utmost indignation at all the courts in Europe, not in the French interest. The Portuguese were roused, and determined to free themselves from the French yoke. The English sent an immense army to Spain, to assist the King in delivering his country from the power of the tyrant; and thus began one of the most furious and bloody wars which Bonaparte had ever occasioned.

The disposition of Napoleon to obtain universal, as well as unlimited power, was now apparent. The nations of Europe became alarmed, and the neighbouring princes saw that their crowns, perhaps their lives, might soon depend on the will of him who was, not long since, an obscure individual from Elba.

Although Napoleon had so lately marched in triumph into their conquered capital, the court of Vienna again declared war against the tyrant. With his usual success, the Emperor, after having killed and taken prisoners sixty or seventy thousand of the Austrian army, again presented himself before Vienna on the 10th of May, 1809. Here he issued a proclamation to the Hungarians, and then crossed the Danube, in order to give battle to Archduke Charles. An engagement took place at the village of Aspern, marked by its fury and carnage. But here, almost for the first time, Napoleon was defeated, and obliged to fly, after having lost five Generals and a great number of men killed, and 8000 prisoners. After several other sanguinary engagements, a peace was settled between the two Emperors, by which the whole of Tyrol was given to France.

At the close of this year, Napoleon divorced his wife Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride, and early in 1810, overtures were made to the Emperor of Austria to settle a treaty of marriage between his daughter Maria Louisa and his Imperial Majesty of France and its dependencies.

This being agreed on, Napoleon solemnized his marriage with royal magnificence at Paris on the first day of April.

In 1811, the Emperor of Russia accused Napoleon of having broken the treaty of Tilsit, in several respects. But to the remonstrances of the Russian ambassador on this subject, no answer was given.

The Russian Court therefore solemnly declared war against France.

The campaign was opened in April, 1812, but as the principal events only, of this most destructive of all Bonaparte's wars, can be given, the battle of Smolensko will be the first we shall notice. On the 16th of August, the French occupied the heights of this place, the walls of which were 25 feet high, with towers, armed with cannon. The town was defended by 30,000 Russians, and not far distant lay the main body of the Russian army.

The attack was first made with 10 pieces of artillery on the intrenched suburbs, which were finally carried by assault. The howitzers were then directed against the towers, and the Russians driven from them. It was now discovered, that the city was in flames, The battle continued during the night, and at 2 o'clock in the morning, the French grenadiers mounted the breach they had made in the walls. To their astonishment, no one resisted their approach. The town was entirely evacuated, but the streets were covered with the dead and dying.

The Russians continued to retreat, and lay the country waste, while the French kept up the pursuit. When they arrived at Viasma, they found that city, which had contained 10,000 inhabitants, entirely evacuated, and reduced to a heap of ruins. The retreat and pursuit were continued to Moscow, and on the 14th of September, Napoleon appeared before that city with his army. The discharge of 2000 cannon began this dreadful conflict. A veil of smoke shut out the light of the sun, and left the combatants to pursue the work of death, only by the flashes of the cannon and musquetry. The sabres of 40,000 dragoons met each other, clashing in the horrid gloom; and the moving ramparts of half a million of bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of dead men. Night only increased the horrors of the scene. The city appeared in flames at different quarters. Two hundred and fifty thousand human beings, of all ages and conditions, were driven from their homes, without shelter or food. The hospitals, which contained more than 20,000 wounded Russians, were consumed by the flames. The city was taken, and given up to a general pillage. Soldiers, sutlers and galley-slaves were now seen breaking into palaces, and seizing every article which could gratify their appetites or avarice. Drunkenness increased their fury, and the cries and shrieks of the miserable inhabitants, who fell in the way of these murderers completed the horror of that scene.

Having caused the destruction of one of the most magnificent cities in the world, Napoleon now began his retreat; but death and destruction now stared his whole army in the face. The Russians followed and harassed them. Thousands froze to death for want of shelter. Other thousands starved to death. The dreadful sufferings of the soldiers hardened their hearts against each other, so that when a man fell down, exhausted or frozen, he was immediately trampled under foot by his passing comrades, and no notice taken of his cries for help. The heartless monster, Napoleon, seeing the awful condition to which he had brought so many of his faithful soldiers, instead of suffering with them, privately made his escape, left all who remained alive to perish, or take care of themselves as they could, and in disguise arrived at Paris, in December.

From the evacuation of Moscow to the end of December, the French had left in the hands of their enemies 46 Generals, 1500 other officers, 100,000 soldiers, and 1350 pieces of artillery.

Of the number slain, or who perished in Russia, no return was ever made. But of 400,000 troops who followed Bonaparte on this expedition, not 50,000 ever returned to France. On the 11th of January, 1813, Napoleon levied a new army of 350,000 men, and in the course of a few weeks, they were raised by conscription, and marched off to Germany, to be ready to act against the Russians and their allies.

Meantime the Russian government had raised large reinforcements, and offered assistance to any nation that wished to throw off the French yoke.

The first action of consequence took place at the village of Gross-Gorsaken, where the allies attempted to oppose Napoleon's progress towards Leipsic. This bloody conflict began at noon, and continued eight hours with the utmost fury. The village was taken and retaken six times by the bayonet. The carnage on both sides was immense. Napoleon claimed the victory, but it was dearly bought.

The Austrian cabinet took a deep interest in these events: the Emperor saw with disquietude the progress of the French arms, and had prepared armaments of great magnitude, to be used in case of necessity. Through the mediation of the Austrian cabinet, an armistice was agreed on, and a Congress assembled at Prague, where it was proposed to Napoleon to restore to Prussia the fortresses he had taken from her, that Austria should be put in possession of the Illyrian provinces, and that Hamburg and Lubec should be restored to their independence.

These terms Napoleon rejected, on which the armistice was denounced, and war declared by Austria against France.

All Europe, and a part of Asia was now at war, and armies on the most gigantic scale were to be put in motion. On one side was arrayed Russia, England, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, and on the other, France, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Bavaria, and Saxony.

The first engagement of consequence took place on the 26th of August, near the river Neisse, and ended with the loss of 18,000 of the allies, and 103 pieces of cannon taken.

But the French were defeated in turn at the mountain passes into Bohemia. Here, for two successive days, Napoleon's army was attacked with such fury, that his soldiers threw down their arms, and fled in every direction. Six Generals, 60 pieces of cannon, and 10,000 men were taken. At Interbook, the allies again obtained a victory, six thousand of the French being killed, and 5000 taken. On the 16th of October, the French were attacked at Leipsic, and after prodigious efforts on both sides, Napoleon was compelled to retreat. The allies took fifteen Generals, 250 cannon, and 15,000 prisoners, including the King of Saxony and his court. Napoleon made a precipitate retreat, and on his arrival at Paris immediately raised 300,000 soldiers by conscription.

The allied armies now crossed the Rhine, and proclaimed, that they would not lay down their arms, until Spain, Germany, Italy, and Holland were freed from the French yoke.

Continuing their march, they invaded the whole frontier of France from Lyons to Antwerp. Paris was in dreadful alarm. Bonaparte took leave of the national guard with emotion, and committed his wife and child to their protection. He then joined his army. Battle after battle ensued with various success, On the 27th of January, 1814, the allies were forced from their position. The French took possession of the castle of Brienne, and a dreadful carnage succeeded in an attempt to dispossess them. At La Rotherie, the French were routed ; 5000 were killed, and 20,000 deserted.

Finally, the Emperor Alexander determined to assemble all the allied forces at Acris, and there decide the contest. On the 19th of March, the two armies were in sight of each other. The French moved to the attack, but Napoleon found a barrier of 60 pieces directed against him. All his efforts were in vain, and after the most desperate acts of bravery, his army was compelled to retreat.

The King of Prussia now gave orders to his army to march directly for Paris.

On the 20th of March, immense masses of infantry advanced from different routes ; a large body of cavalry covered the plains, and 600 pieces of artillery, and 200,000 soldiers approached the city of Paris. The French determined on resistance, but were driven in every direction to the barriers of the city, and the capital was about to be forced, when Marmont sent an officer to solicit a truce. Instantly hostilities ceased.

Meantime Napoleon followed close in the rear of the grand army, moving with incredible celerity, with a view of saving the capital, but all his exertions were not able to prevent a catastrophe which he foresaw would end in his ruin. Having arrived at Fontainbleau with his whole Force, he announced to his army his intention of making an attempt to repel the invaders. But some of his marshals had sent in their adherence to the provisional government, and others refused to obey in so hopeless an enterprize. On the 3d of April, Berthier was sent to recommend to the Emperor that he should peaceably abdicate the throne. At first, the fallen monarch was angry, and refused to act, or think on the subject. In the course of the day, however, being informed by a number of his marshals that it would be the only means of saving the country from ruin, and that there was no hope of any better alternative, he consented, and abdicated the throne in favour of his infant son.

On the 20th of April, Napoleon set off for his native island of Elba, followed by fourteen carriages.

Louis XVIII. having arrived from England on the 3d of May, made his solemn entry into his capital, amid the acclamations of the people. On the 30th of May, a definitive treaty of peace between all the allied powers and Louis, was signed at Paris. The royal persons congregated on this occasion, were the Emperors of Russia and Austria, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Wirtemberg and Bavaria, and ambassadors from England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor States of Germany.

All Europe was now at peace. A war of twenty-five years had spread desolation and mourning over near half the habitable globe, and millions of lives had been sacrificed to the wills, the wrongs, or the ambition of princes. The day of peace was therefore hailed as the era from whence the horrors of war were to end, and prosperity and happiness again bless the nations of the earth. But these prospects were soon to be darkened, and Europe to experience greater commotions than ever.

A plot was laid to seat Napolean once more on the throne of France. Of the extent of this conspiracy, or the names of those engaged in it, little is known.

On the first of March, 1815, Napoleon, with nine hundred men, landed near Cannes, France. He immediately published a proclamation, and in a few days had a well appointed army of 10,000 men under his command. Marshal Ney was sent against him, but instead of opposing his progress, he joined the standard of Napoleon with most of his army.

On the 20th, Bonaparte was at Fontainbleau, where he had already assembled a large army.

The King, Louis, fled from Paris.

A body of troops were sent to oppose his approach to the capital, but the ranks opened at his approach, and shouting *Vive Napoleon le Grande*, let him pass unmolested.

At nine o'clock in the evening, twenty days after his landing, he reached Paris, and again seated himself on the throne of the French empire. On the 13th of March the Allied Sovereigns, still assembled at the Congress of Vienna, agreed to raise an army which in the whole amounted to more than a million of men, to crush this conspiracy, and not to lay down their arms until Bonaparte was completely deprived of the power of exciting disturbances.

On the 1st of May, 1815, Napoleon had raised an army of 520,000 men. On the 1st of June, "the additional acts" to the Constitution of the Empire, made by Napoleon, were sworn to, with great ceremony and pomp, by the Emperor, the deputies from the different departments, and the people. On the 3d, the chamber of peers and deputies met, as the legislative bodies of the Empire.

Meantime the combined armies were all in motion, and on the 11th of June the Emperor left his capital and proceeded to the army.

On the 16th the Prussians had proceeded as far as the villages of St. Amand and Ligny. They were immediately attacked by the Emperor in person. After a vigorous resistance he took possession of St. Amand. He next advanced against Ligny, where the combat was of the most desperate and sanguinary description. For five hours the battle raged with doubtful success; but finally the Prussians were repulsed and obliged to retire, leaving an immense number of killed and wounded on the field of battle.

In consequence of the retreat of the Prussians, the Duke of Wellington retired to Waterloo. On the 18th of June, Napoleon began to put his troops in motion; and each army prepared to decide the fate of Europe. The lines were nearly parallel; at the distance of from twelve to fourteen hundred yards apart, and extending about two miles in length. The eminences possessed by each army were lined with 300 pieces of artillery.

This was the first time Bonaparte had met Wellington. Both these commanders were in full view of the field when the battle begun. The details of this dreadful conflict are too well known to need a description here. Napoleon was completely defeated; 300 pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Allies, and 14,000 prisoners were taken. The number killed is uncertain. But the loss to the French on the 16th and 18th was estimated at 40,000 left on the field. On the 16th the French killed 16,000 Prussians, and on the 18th lord Wellington lost in killed, 13,000.

Napoleon made his escape to Paris, where his arrival spread universal consternation. He demanded another army to oppose his enemies, but he was given to understand that his abdication was expected. To this he was obliged to consent, and accordingly issued a declaration, in which he declared that his political life was terminated, and proclaimed his son as heir to the throne, under the title of Napoleon II.

Having given this rapid sketch of the principal events of Bonaparte's life, without adverting to General La Fayette, we now return to show the connection he had with the government of France during that period.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONDUCT OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE DURING THE REIGN OF BONAPARTE, &C.

Soon after the return of La Fayette to France, the question of electing Bonaparte First Consul for life, became a subject of great interest to those who considered its consequences. La Fayette saw that the liberties of France would be placed in jeopardy by such a measure, and with that candour and patriotism which always belonged to his character, he wrote Bonaparte as follows, on the subject.

"General,

"When a man, who is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes you, and who is too ardent a lover of glory to be wholly indifferent to yours, connects his suffrage with conditional restrictions, those restrictions not only secure him from suspicion, but prove amply, that no one will more gladly than himself, behold in you, the Chief Magistrate for life, of a free and independent Republic.

"The 18th of Brumaire saved France from destruction; and I felt myself reassured and recalled by the liberal declarations to which you have connected the sanction of your honour. In your Consular authority, there was afterwards discerned that salutary dictatorial prerogative, which, under the auspices of a genius like yours, accomplished such glorious purposes; yet less glorious, let me add, than the restoration of liberty would prove.

"It is not possible, General, that you, the first amidst that order of mankind, which surveys every age and every country, before the stations of its members in the scale can be determined, that you can desire that a revolution, marked by an unexampled series of stupendous victories, and unheard of sufferings, shall give nothing to the world, but a renovated system of arbitrary government. The people of this country have been acquainted with their rights too long to forget them forever; but perhaps they may recover and enjoy them better now, than during the period of revolutionary effervescence. And you, by the strength of your character, and the influence of public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your power and your fortune, in re-establishing the liberties of France, can allay all agitations, calm all anxieties, and subdue all dangers.

" When I wish, then, to see the career of your glory crowned by the honours of perpetual magistracy, I but act in correspondence with my own private sentiments, and am influenced exclusively by patriotic considerations. But all my political and moral obligations, the principles that have governed every action of my life, call on me to pause, before I bestow on you my suffrage, until I feel assured, that your authority shall be erected on a basis worthy the nation and yourself.

" I confidently trust, General, that you will recognize here, as you have done on all other occasions, a steady continuance of my political opinions, combined with the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and the deepest sense of all my obligations towards you."

The Frst Consul saw from this letter, that La Fayette could neither recognize his principles as a security to the liberties of France, nor promote his desire of being confirmed as the Chief Magistrate of the kingdom during life.

From this moment, all intercourse ceased between the First Consul and La Fayette, nor did the latter see him again until his return from Elba. This letter never was answered, and although the quiet and retired habits of La Fayette did not subject him to the machinations of the times, Napoleon took care that he should feel that he had not been forgiven for his opposition, by his treatment towards his son. George Washington La Fayette, only son of the General, served from the commencement of the war in 1800. He was attached to the guards of the First Consul; and afterwards General Grouchy appointed him one of his aids. Grouchy was exceedingly attached to him as a brave and intelligent officer, and besides, owed him a debt of gratitude; young La Fayette having, at a period of great hazard and difficulty, saved the life of his General. Grouchy made a report to Napoleon of the meritorious conduct of young La Fayette, and requested as a favour, conferred on himself, as well as a reward for his bravery and good conduct, that he might be promoted. But Napoleon replied, "these La Fayettes cross my path every where," and would not permit his name to be mentioned in the bulletins. He continued to serve, notwithstanding, until the ratification of the treaty of Tilsit, and afterwards retired to the family mansion at La Grange, where he remained during the reign of Napoleon.

" * The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, made no change in La Fayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was kindly received; but the government they had established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, [1790] that he did not again present himself at the palace.—The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, the end of the year brought back Buonaparte, who (as we have already seen) landed on the first of March, 1815, and reached the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and policy seemed to be to play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon

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* N. A. Review, No. 46.

the soil of France, he endeavoured to win the old friends of French freedom ; and the same day that he made his irruption into the ancient palace of the Tuileries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment. In a similar way, he endeavoured to obtain the countenance and co-operation of La Fayette. Joseph Buonaparte to whom La Fayette was personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult and conciliate him ; but La Fayette would hold no communication with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressingly solicited to have an interview with the Emperor.

On the 22d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation his Acte Additionel, or an addition as he chose to consider it, to the constitution of 1799, 1802, and 1804, confirming thereby the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and an elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted, by the votes of the French people : but La Fayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the Consulship for life. The very college of electors however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him for their President, and afterwards to be their Representative ; and the Emperor, determining to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. La Fayette was as true to his principles, as he had been before under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, but declined the peerage."

As a representative of the people, La Fayette took his seat at the opening of the Chambers, during the hundred days reign of Napoleon. But he appears not to have taken an active part in the debates, took great care not be implicated in any of the designs of the Emperor, and only voted for such measures as under the circumstances were in his judgment best calculated to meliorate the dreadful situation of his country.

Twelve days after the assembling of the Chambers, the battle of Waterloo decided the fate of Napoleon. He returned to Paris, a ruined and desperate man.—Not, however, destitute of all hopes, he determined to make one mighty effort to retrieve his fortunes.—This was to dissolve the Chambers, which he saw he could not control; assume the dictatorship; raise an army instantly, by conscription, and repel his invaders by an overwhelming force. The Chambers well understood this design, and having received intelligence that it was the intention of Napoleon to dissolve them immediately on their coming together on the morning of the 22d of June, the existence of the Chambers, as a legislative body, or the final doom of the monarch was instantly to be decided. The moment, therefore, the Assembly had convened, La Fayette, in the face of death, if his proposition was rejected, ascended the tribune. With firm and cool deliberation, he prefaced the resolutions he had to offer as follows: "When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice, which the friends of free institutions will still recognize, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country which you alone now have the power to save. Sinister intimations; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tri-coloured standard; the standard of '89; the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit, then, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel as I do."

These resolutions declared the Chamber to be in a state of permanent sitting, and that any attempt to dissolve it should be considered high treason. "Bonaparte is said to have been much agitated when he heard that La Fayette was in the tribune. He knew his influence and his principles, and was aware that neither comported with his designs of ambiton. The discussion of the Chamber not only fixed the fate of Napoleon, but discouraged him from making any violent efforts. He, however, hesitated during the day, what course to pursue, and in the evening sent Lucien Bonaparte to the Assembly, hoping that his eloquence might gain some terms of conciliation. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Fauxbourgs had been excited, and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the Chamber and disperse the deputies with the bayonet. Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light which two vast torches shed through the hall and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained."*

A debate ensued; and one of the members, after a vehement speech, showing the danger the country was in, ended by demanding the abdication of the Emperor. To this Lucien replied. His object was to convince the Chamber that the nation was still attached to Napoleon, and that there were resources and men at command, sufficient to expel the Allies from the kingdom. "It is not Napoleon," he cried, "that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made to this people to abandon their Emperor; to expose the French nation before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgment on its levity and inconstancy. No, Sir, the honour of this nation shall never be compromised." La Fayette then arose from his seat, and without going to the tribune, addressed Lucien: "The assertion," said he, "which has just been uttered is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy to the Emperor Napoleon? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of Russia; over fifty fields of battle; in disaster as faithfully as in victory; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of millions of Frenchmen."

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* North American Review.

To this Lucien made no reply, but bowing respectfully to La Fayette, resumed his seat. The next morning Napoleon sent in his abdication, and La Fayette was one of the committee sent to return him thanks in behalf of the nation, for peaceably resigning the crown.

A provisional government was now established by the two Chambers, chiefly for the purpose of conciliating the allied monarchs, and stopping the invasion of the country. In this they were not successful, and the capital of France was surrendered to them on the third of July. On the 8th, the Chambers were dissolved, and the deputies returned quietly to their different departments.

La Fayette immediately retired to La Grange, and resumed his quiet and happy mode of life, being entirely employed in agricultural pursuits. Since 1817, he has been twice elected member of the Chamber of Deputies, and it is hardly necessary to say, that on all occasions he displayed the same disinterested zeal for the welfare and liberty of the people, and the same firmness in defending them that always characterized him.

The happy retirement of La Fayette and his interesting family, cannot be better described than is done by Lady Morgan. It is as follows:

"The Chateau of La Grange-Blessnau lies in the fertile district of La Brie; so remote from any high road, so lonely, so wood-embosomed, that a spot more sequestered, more apparently distant from the bustling world, and all its scenes of conflict and activity, can scarcely be imagined.—Having left the public road about thirty miles from Paris, and struck into an almost impassable *chemin-dertravers*, we trusted to the hints and guidance of shepherds, wood-cutters and *gardes-champetres* for a clue to the labyrinth we were pursuing. They all knew the chateau la Grange; and by their directions, we proceeded from one "deep-entangled glen" to another; jolting over stony brooks, floundering through rapid mill-streams; sometimes buried in forests of fruit-trees, and sometimes driving through farm-yards, to the dismay of the poultry, and the amusement of their owners; while our coachman and a French servant, who accompanied us, had always some question to ask, or some courtesy to offer and receive.

In crossing a *chemin-pave*, as it was called, we were pointed out the remains of a Roman road; and the spot was marked where a battle was fought, in March, 1814, between Buonaparte and the Austrians, called the Battle of Mormans, in which the French arms were victorious. This skirmish prefaced the great engagement of Montreau.

In the midst of this fertile and luxuriant wilderness, rising above prolific orchards and antiquated woods, appeared the five towers of La-Grange-Blessneau, tinged with the golden rays of the setting sun. Through the boles of the trees, appeared the pretty village of Aubepierre, once, perhaps, the dependency of the castle, and clustering near the protection of its walls. A remoter view of the village of D'Hieres, with its gleaming river and romantic valley, was caught and lost, alternately, in the serpentine mazes of the rugged road; which, accommodated to the groupings of the trees, wound amidst branches laden with ripening fruit, till its rudeness sullenly subsided in the velvet lawn that immediately surrounded the castle.

The deep moat, the draw-bridge, the ivied tower, and arched portals, opening into the square court, had a feudal and picturesque character; and, combined with the reserved tints and fine repose of evening, associated with that exaltation of feeling which belonged to the moment preceeding a first interview with those, on whom the mind has long dwelt with admiration or interest.

We found General La Fayette surrounded by his patriarchal family;—his excellent son and daughter-in-law, his two daughters (the sharers of his dungeon in Olmutz) and their husbands; eleven grand-children, and a venerable grand-uncle, the ex-grand prior of Malta, with hair as white as snow, and his cross and his order worn, as proudly as when he had issued forth at the head of his pious troops, against the "*paynim foe*," or Christian enemy. Such was the groupe that received us in the salon of La Grange; such was the close-knit circle that made our breakfast and our dinner party; accompanied us in our delightful rambles through the grounds of La Grange, and constantly presented the most perfect unity of family interests, habits, taste, and affections.

We naturally expect to find strong traces of time in the form of those, with whose name and deeds we have long been acquainted; of those who had obtained the suffrages of the world, almost before we had entered it. But, on the person of La Fayette, time has left no impression; nor a wrinkle furrows the ample brow, and his unbent, and noble figure, is still as upright, bold, and vigorous, as the mind that informs it. Grace, strength, and dignity, still distinguish the fine person of this extraordinary man; who, though more than forty years before the world, engaged in scenes of strange and eventful conflict, does not yet appear to have reached his climacteric. Bustling and active in his farm, graceful and elegant in his salon, it is difficult to trace, in one of the most successful agriculturists, and one of the most perfect fine gentlemen that France has produced, a warrior and a legislator. The patriot, however, is always discernible.

In the full possesion of every faculty and talent he ever possessed, the memory of M. La Fayette has all the tenacity of unworn youthful recollection ; and, besides these, high views of all that is most elevated in the mind's conception. His conversation is brilliantly enriched with anecdotes of all that is celebrated, in character and event, for the last fifty years. He still talks with unwearied delight of his short visit to England, to his friend Mr. Fox, and dwelt on the *witchery* of the late Duchess of Devonshire, with almost boyish enthusiasm. He speaks and writes English with the same elegance he does his native tongue. He has made himself master of all that is best worth knowing. in English literature and philosophy. I observed that his library contained many of our most eminent authors upon all subjects. His elegant, and well chosen. collection of books, occupies the highest apartments in one of the towers of the chateau ; and, like the study of Montaigne, hangs over the farm-yard of the philosophical agriculturist—"It frequently happens," said M. La Fayette, as we were looking out of the window at some flocks, which were moving beneath, "it frequently happens that my Merinos, and my hay carts, dispute my attention with your Hume, or our own Voltaire."

He spoke with great pleasure on the visit paid him at La Grange some years ago, by Mr. Fox and General Fitzpatrick. He took me out, the morning after my arrival, to shew me a tower, richly covered with ivy :—"It was Fox," said he, "who planted that ivy ! I have taught my grand-children to venerate it."

The chateau La Grange does not, however, want other points of interest.—Founded by Louis Le Gros, and occupied by the princes of Lorraine, the mark of a cannon ball is still visible in one of its towers, which penetrated the masonry, when attacked by Marechal Turenne. Here, in the plain, but spacious, *salon-a-manger*, the peasantry of the neighbourhood, and the domestics of the castle, assemble every Sunday evening in winter, to dance to the violin of the *concierge*, and are regaled with cakes, and *eau sucree*. The General is usually, and his family are *always*, present, at these rustic balls. The young people occasionally dance among the tenantry, and set the examples of new steps, freshly imported by their Paris dancing-master.

In the summer, this patriarchal re-union takes place in the park, where a space is cleared for the purpose shaded by the lofty trees which encircle it. A thousand times in contemplating La Fayette, in the midst of this charming family, the last years of the life of the Chancellor de l'Hopital recurred to me,—he, whom the *naive* Brantome likens to Cato; and who, loving liberty as he hated faction, retired from a court unworthy of his virtues, to his little domain of Vignay, which he cultivated himself.

In accompanying this "*last of the Romans*" through his extensive farms, visiting his sheep-folds, his cow-stalls, his dairies, (of all of which he was justly proud, and occasionally asking me, whether it was not something in the English style,) I was struck with his gracious manner to the peasantry, and to the workmen engaged in the various rustic offices of his domains. He almost always addressed them with "*mon ami*," "*mon bon ami*,"—*mon cher garcon*;" while "*ma bonne mere*," *and* "*ma chere fille*" were invited to display the delicacies of the cream-pans and cheese-presses, or to parade their turkeys and ducklings for our observation and amusement. And this condescending kindness seems repaid by boundless affection, and respect amounting to veneration. What was once the *verger* of the chateau, where anciently the feudal seigneur regaled himself in the evening, with the officers of his household, and played chess with his chaplain, is now extended, behind the castle, into a noble park, cut out of the luxuriant woods; the trees being so cleared away, and disposed of, as to sprinkle its green and velvet lawn with innumerable clumps of lofty oaks, and fantastic elms. "This is rather English, too," said General La Fayette; "but it owes the greater part of its beauty to the taste of our celebrated landscape-painter, Robert, who assisted me in laying out the grounds, and disposing of my wood scenery."

It was whilst walking by a bright moon-light, in these lovely grounds, that I have listened to their illustrious master, conversing upon almost every subject worthy to engage the mind of a great and good man; sometimes in French, sometimes in English; always with eloquence, fluency and spirit.

Our mid-day ramble was of a less serious character; for, as the young people were let loose from their studies to accompany us, we issued forth a party of twenty strong. Upon these occasions, the Grand Prior took a very distinguished part. He was evidently a popular leader upon such expeditions, and having given orders to a party to go in search of some peculiarly beautiful corn-flowers, which were destined to assist the dinner toilette, the veteran knight marshalled his divisions, and commanded the expedition, with an earnestness and a gravity, which evidently showed him as much interested in this predatory warfare upon blooms and odours, as his well disciplined little troops. Some error, however, in their evolutions, just as the word of command was given, struck the General La Fayette himself, who commanded a halt, and suggested the experience of his counsel to the science of the Maltese tactics. It was curious to observe the representative of the Grand Masters of the Knights of St. John, of Jerusalem, and the General-commandant of the national army of France, manœuvring this little rifle corps, and turning powers that had once their influence over the fate of Europe, against corn-flowers, and May-sweets.

I was desirous to learn how Bonaparte seemed affected at the moment that General La Fayette, at the head of the deputation who came to thank him in the name of the chamber, for his voluntary abdication, appeared before him. "We found him," said General La Fayette, "upon this occasion, as upon many others, acting out of the ordinary rules of calculation; neither affecting the pathetic dignity of fallen greatness, nor evincing the uncontrollable dejection of disappointed ambition, of hopes crushed, never to revive, and of splendour quenched, never to rekindle. We found him calm and serene: he received us with a faint but gracious smile—he spoke with firmness and precision. I think the parallel for this moment was that when he presented his breast to the troops drawn out against him, on his return from Elba, exclaiming, "I am your Emperor, strike if you will." There have been splendid traits in the life of this man, not to be reconciled to his other modes of conduct:—his character is out of all ordinary keeping, and to him the doctrine of probabilities could never, in any instance, be applied.'

A few days before this memorable interview, La Fayette had said in the Assembly, in answer to Lucien Bonaparte's reproaches, who accused the nation of levity in its conduct towards the Emperor, "Go, tell your brother, that we will trust him no longer; we will ourselves undertake the salvation of our country." And Napoleon had learnt that, if his abdication was not sent to the chamber within one hour, M. La Fayette had resolved to move for his expulsion. Yet Bonaparte received this firm opposer of all his views with graciousness and serenity; and it was this resolute and determined foe to his power, who, after this interview, demanded that the liberty and life of Napoleon should be put under the protection of the French people. But Napoleon, always greater in adversity than in prosperity, chose to trust to the generosity of the English nation, and to seek safety and protection amidst what he deemed a great and a free people. This voluntary trust, so confidingly placed, so sacredly reposed, was a splendid event in the history of England's greatness—it was a bright reflection on the records of her virtues. It illuminated a page in her chronicles, on which the eye of posterity might have dwelt with transport! It placed her pre-eminent among cotemporary nations. Her powerful enemy, against whom she had successfully armed and coalesced the civilized world, chose his place of refuge, in the hour of adversity, in her bosom, because he knew her brave, and believed her magnanimous.

Alone, in his desolate dwelling; deprived of every solace of humanity; torn from those ties, which alone, throw a ray of brightness over the darkest shades of misfortune; wanting all the comforts, and many of the necessaries of life; the victim of the caprice of petty delegated power; harassed by every day oppression; mortified by mean, reiterated hourly privation; chained to a solitary and inaccessible rock, with no object on which to fix his attention, but the sky, to whose inclemency he is exposed, or that little spot of earth, within whose narrow bounds he is destined to wear away the dreary hours of unvaried captivity, in hopeless, cheerless, life-consuming misery. Where now is his faith in the magnanimity of England? his trust in her generosity? his hopes in her beneficence?

The regret we felt in leaving La Grange, was proportioned to the expectations, with which we arrived before its gates, to the pleasure we enjoyed under its roof. It is a memorable event in the life of ordinary beings, to be permitted a proximate view of a great and good man! It is a refreshment to the feelings, which the world may have withered!—it is expansion to the mind, which the world may have narrowed!—It chases from the memory the traces of all the littleness, the low, mean, and sordid passions, by which the multitudes of society are actuated; the successes of plodding mediocrity; the triumphs of time-serving obsequiousness; and the selfish views of power and ambition, for the destruction of the many, and the debasement of all! To have lived under the roof of La Fayette; to have conversed with him, and listened to him, was opening a splendid page in the history of man. It was perused with edification and delight, and its impression can only fade with memory and life."

CHAPTER XI.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1824.—GRATEFUL ACTS OF CONGRESS TOWARDS HIM, &C.

It had long been the desire of the people of the United States, that La Fayette, of whom every indivividual knew something, should again visit the country of his adoption. During his absence of forty years, most of those, it is true, who had suffered the hardships of '78 with him, had passed away. But their children and grand-children had been taught to associate his name with that of Washington; and there still remained a remnant of revolutionary veterans, whose strongest wish was to see their General before they died. When, therefore, his intention of visiting this country was known, a sensation of pleasure was felt, throughout the nation.

In January, 1824, Congress passed a resolution, authorising the President of the United States "to offer him a public ship, for his accommodation; and to assure him, in the name of the people of this great Republic, that they cherished for him a grateful and affectionate attachment."

The Legislature of Massachusetts, in June, 1824, passed a resolution, requesting the Governour to make such arrangements as would secure to this distinguished friend of our country, an honourable reception, on the part of that state; and authorising him to draw from the treasury a sum sufficient to meet the expenses. The society of Cincinnati, of which La Fayette is a member, voted as follows, on the same subject:

"It being reported, that General La Fayette, an original member of the society of Cincinnati, intends visiting the United States in the course of the present year, voted, that a committee be appointed, to consider what measures it will be proper for this Society to adopt, on the arrival of our distinguished brother; whose meritorious and disinterested services to our country, in the war of the revolution, cannot be too highly appreciated; and whose whole life has been devoted to the vindication of the rights of man."

Before La Fayette left France, letters were written him by the Mayors of New York and Boston, in behalf of the corporation of each city; expressive of the sensation which a knowledge of his intended visit had excited, and requesting the honour of receiving him at their respective cities.

La Fayette declined accepting the invitation of Government, to take his passage in a public ship. On this subject he writes to the Mayor of Boston:—"But while I profoundly feel the honour intended by the offer of a national ship, I hope I shall incur no blame, by the determination I have taken, to embark, as soon as it is in my power, on board a private vessel."

It being uncertain in what part of the United States, the vessel which conveyed him would first arrive, several of the commercial cities made preparation to receive him in a manner which so great and joyful an occasion required.

As the time approached, on which it was supposed La Fayette would arrive, the whole nation was in a state of anxious and inquiring expectation. In those cities, particularly, where he might be expected to land, and each of which anxiously desired the honour of first entertaining him, the suspense produced strong emotions. At length, the joyful intelligence spread with inconceivable rapidity throughout the country, "La Fayette has arrived."

He came in the packet Cadmus, Capt. Allen, from Havre, and arrived in the harbour of New York, accompanied by his son, and M. L. Vasseur, on the 15th of August. At the entrance of the harbour, the three gentlemen were received on board a steam-boat, and the day being Sunday, they were conducted to the house of Vice President Tompkins, on Staten Island. On the next day, Gen. La Fayette was received at the city of New York with a degree of splendour and enthusiasm unknown in the country on any former occasion. From New York, La Fayette passed through the country to Boston, constantly receiving the most enthusiastic congratulations of the people. Not only at every place where he stopped, but as he passed along the road, thousands came to catch a glimpse of him, and bid "Welcome La Fayette." Having visited most of the principal towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut, he returned again to New York. During this tour, it is impossible to convey in general terms an adequate idea of the excitement into which the country was thrown. Committees were constantly arriving from distant towns at the places where he stopped, to solicit the honour of receiving him, and to know on what day and at what hour his arrival might be expected. In some instances, gentlemen residing at a distance from his route. directed the news of his approach to be sent them by expresses. Meantime the General was so obliging as to allow himself to be transported with the utmost rapidity from place to place, often travelling most of the night, so as not to disappoint the anxious expectations of the people. From New York the General went to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, &c., constantly receiving from the people the same cordial welcome, and witnessing the same demonstrations of joy wherever he went.

But the feelings of the nation demanded that something more should be done for General La Fayette, than could be expressed by acclamations alone. This love of liberty had been the means of depriving him of a great proportion of his fortune. When, during our revolution, the country was so exhausted as to be unable to clothe or feed her little army, La Fayette not only gave all his pay to government, but advanced money which never was refunded: so that, in addition to the debt of gratitude, the nation owed him for advancement made during her necessities. It was the exercise of the same leading principle, (the love of liberty) which occasioned the confiscation of his estates in France, when the jacobin faction controlled the kingdom.

Under every consideration, the nation was bound to shew La Fayette, and the world, that in the prosperity of his adopted country, his former services were remembered with too much gratitude to be passed over without some permanent mark of national beneficence.

The President of the United States, therefore, in his message to Congress, at the opening of the last session, recommended in appropriate terms, the consideration of General La Fayette's eminent services to the country, and requested that the legislative body of the nation would devise some means of making him at least a partial remuneration. Agreeably to this recommendation, Congress appointed a committee to deliberate on the subject, and on the 20th of December, "Mr. Hayne, from the committee appointed on so much of the President's message as relates to making provision for the services of General La Fayette, reported the following bill:—

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled*, That the sum of two hundred thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby granted to Major General La Fayette, in compensation for his important services and expenditures during the American Revolution; and that for this purpose a stock to that amount be issued in his favour, dated the 4th of July, 1824, bearing an annual interest of six per cent., payable quarter yearly, and redeemable on the 31st of December, 1834.

"Sect. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That one complete Township of land be, and the same is hereby granted to the said Major General La Fayette; and that the President of the United States be authorized to cause the said township to be located on any of the public lands which remain unsold; and that patents be issued to General La Fayette for the same."

On the 21st this bill was made the order of the day in the Senate, and the following debate on it, extracted from the journals of Congress, will tend to shew with how much reason the bill was passed:

Senate—Tuesday, December 21.

"The Senate proceeded, as in committee of the whole, to the consideration of the bill making provision for the services and expenditures of General La Fayette.

Mr. Hayne, (of S. C.) in reply to Messrs. Macon and Brown who objected to the bill, remarked, that the observations made by the honourable gentlemen, rendered it his duty, though it was done with regret, as he had hoped the bill would pass without opposition, as chairman of the committee, to submit the principles on which the committee had proceeded in presenting the present bill. He trusted that he should be able to satisfy the scruples of the Hon. gentlemen, and that there would be no necessity of recommitting the bill.

With regard to the objections made by his friend on his right, (Mr. Macon,) they affected the making any compensation, under any circumstances whatever, to individuals, either for services rendered or sacrifices made. He understood he had said, it was immaterial whether an individual should have spent his substance in the service of his country—should have put his hand in his purse and paid the expenses of the war, still that for such services no compensation could be made.

He could show that this was the fact—that it was precisely the case with regard to General La Fayette. He had expended his fortune in our service, and he should contend it was right, it was necessary—they were called on by duty to themselves, at least to refund the expenses to which he had been subjected. Mr. Hayne proceeded to say, that he held documents in his hand which it became his duty to submit to the Senate—documents derived from the highest authority. The paper he held in his hand contained accounts from the proper officers, showing the expenses of La Fayette, and pointing out the manner in which his estate had been dissipated in the service of liberty. In the year 1777, he had an annual income of 146,000 francs, equal to 29,700 dollars. This had been almost entirely expended in the services which he had rendered to liberty, in this and the other hemisphere. During a period of six years, from the year 1777, to 1783, he had expended, in the American service, 700,000 francs, equal to 140,000 dollars. This document, said Mr. Hayne, is derived from the most authentic sources in France, and has come into my hands from a respectable member of this House, without the knowledge or consent of the General and his friends.

The fact to which he called their attention was, that during the six years the General had been engaged in the service, he had expended 140,000 dollars of his fortune; he was in a state of prosperity, and in the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune in his own country, when he resolved to come to this. He purchased a ship, raised, equipped, armed and clothed a regiment at his own expense, and when he landed on these coasts, he came freighted with the munitions of war, which he distributed gratuitously to our army. It is on record that he clothed and put shoes on the feet of the naked, suffering, soldiers of America, and that during six years he sacrificed 140,000 dollars. He asked for no compensation—he made out no account—he received no pay—he spent his fortune for this country, and not only gave his services, but hazarded his life in its defence, shed his blood in its service, and returned home broken in his fortune. What did Government do? After the war, in 1794, they gave him the full pay of a Major General, to which he was entitled twelve or fourteen years before. If any American citizen had done as much and had brought in an account stating he had expended 140,000 dollars, and made application for compensation, would it not have been granted? Indeed if we were to make out an account current of the expenses and sacrifices of the General, it would far exceed the sum now proposed. But he never rendered a claim: he would have starved ere he would have done it.

I have other documents, said Mr. Hayne, to which I shall briefly refer. There is one fact which shows how alive he was to every honourable sentiment. He has made sacrifices that can never be repaid. Congress, in their gratitude, made him a donation of 11,000 acres of land, which at the value of lands at that time, was not worth more than 11,000 dollars; and by an act in 1804, they authorized him to locate this land on any spot in the United States, that might be vacant: and his agent accordingly located it in the neighbourhood of New Orleans. In 1807, Congress passed an act, confirming the title to the city council of New Orleans of all lands within six hundred yards of its limits.

Part of the land belonging to General La Fayette was included in this grant, and on the fact being communicated to him in France by his agent, accompanied by legal advice of the validity of his title, he replied, that it was not for him to inquire into the circumstances, but that he receiving bounty from the government of the United States, could only receive it as they chose to give it; and directed his agent to enter a relinquishment of the land in question. This land, according to the estimate of gentlemen from Louisiana is now worth 500,000 dollars. But there is another circumstance to be stated: having located the land, he made a contract with an Irish Baronet for the sale of a portion of it, and he afterwards made it his business to find him out—he relinquished his own right, and, at his own expense, induced him to relinquish every legal claim that he could have upon the United States. This relinquishment was on file in the land office, and Mr. Hayne submitted the documents to the examination of the Senate.

These claims appear certainly in a very strong, and he might say, irresistible shape before the Senate. His honourable friend, on the right, had said that we treat this gentleman better than we do our native sons, but it appeared that they barely did him justice. Did the gentleman doubt that this government were in the habit of making remuneration for sacrifices and services—he would refer to an act passed in 1790, granting compensation to Frederick William Baron Steuben, for sacrifices and services.

Mr. Hayne proceeded to refer to many instances where the government had not only granted pecuniary assistance, but had granted a whole township of land for sacrifices and services. He was not one of those who were afraid of making precedents—a good precedent can never do evil; and when nations as well as individuals, gave way to the noblest feelings of our nature, they best promoted the glory of the country and the welfare of the people; but the case of La Fayette could form no precedent—it stood alone. Could this country be born again—could it assume a second childhood, and be placed in circumstances similar to those in which it had formerly been? If this were possible, if it could be reduced again to equal distress, be struggling for existence, about to perish, without funds, arms, clothing, or ammunition, and looking around for help—if, under such circumstances, a foreign nobleman should step forth and devote his life and fortune to her service, sacrificing every thing, and shedding his blood in her behalf, and, while the scale was depressed, throwing himself into the balance, and deciding its fate —surely, such a man would be entitled to the warmest gratitude of the country.

He thought this a case of its own kind and could never happen again—but, if it could, they would follow the brilliant example which would this day be set. With regard to the objection to the thing itself, the honourable gentleman from Ohio wished it to be recommitted for some emendations, but he had not proposed any instructions to the committee, and they were ignorant of what he desired. He knew there was a very large majority in both Houses of Congress, and an overwhelming majority among the people, who desired that some such expression should be given of the public feeling. The only difference was, as to the mode of doing it, and the amount. And where so many concur, it was necessary that individuals should sacrifice their private opinions on the subject.

It was impossible to devise a scheme which should satisfy every one ; for there would always be found some one to raise objections—whether the intended donation should be in money, stock, or lands. He could assure them that the committee had taken the greatest pains, and had not been able to devise any plan which could approach nearer to the general sentiment, than the one they had adopted. Their object was to make such an appropriation as should comfort his declining years, and smooth his path to the grave. It would be besides, a perpetual monument of their gratitude. The stock would remain on the books to the last ; and when they had redeemed all other debts, then they would redeem the debt of gratitude which they owed to this distinguished soldier. A tract of land would have a tendency to keep him amongst us, and would be a portion for his children. It would also add to the grace of the gift, and the impression it would produce. It was his opinion that the public acts ought to be done gracefully. It would make a favorable impression abroad.

Mr. Hayne said he would solicit his friends to relinquish their private opinions on this occasion. Such an act as this, to be well done, should be delicately and promptly managed; and he hoped, as this was the general sense, they would yield. Something must be done for national feeling. To send him back to France, without making any provision for him, would leave him to linger out his last days in poverty, and make him a public spectacle for all Europe—you leave him without means of obtaining those acts of kindness and attention so useful and necessary in the decline of life.

Mr. Macon said he did not like the President's Message. He did not know the opinion of others on the subject, he only spoke to satisfy himself. Whatever they might choose to think, he conceived it a public duty to speak as he did. He had had no conversation with others on the subject. A man who risks all loses all. He had no doubt about every word of the manuscripts his friend had in his hand, and there was no occasion to tell him they did not come from La Fayette himself.

At the suggestion of some friends, Mr. Brown said he would withdraw his motion, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-day: and on the question—shall the bill pass? Mr. Noble called for the Ayes and Noes, not being able to give his sanction to it.

The Ayes and Noes were demanded by one fifth of the whole number present; and those who voted in the affirmative were,

Messrs. Barbour, Boligny; Chandler, Dickerson, Eaton, Edwards, Elliot, Findlay, Gaillard, Hayne, Holmes of Maine, Holmes of Mississippi, Johnson of Kentucky, Johnson of Louisiana, Kelly, King of Alabama, King of New York, Knight, Lanman, Lloyd of Md. Lloyd of Mass. Lowrie, Jackson, McLean, Mills, Palmer, Parrott, Seymor, Smith, Talbot, Taylor, Thomas, Van Buren, Van Dyke, Williams.—37.

Noes—Messrs. Barton, Bell, Brown, Cobb, Macon, Noble, Ruggles.—7.

The bill thus passed the Senate."

The bill having passed both Houses, a committee was appointed from each to wait on the General and present him with a copy of the act. The following extract from the journal of the House contains the address and reply on that occasion:

Senate.—Monday, January 3.

Mr. Smith, from the joint committee of both Houses, appointed to wait on General La Fayette, with a copy of the act concerning him, reported that the Committee waited on him at 12 o'clock, and presented him with a copy of the act, and with a copy of the resolutions of both Houses; and that the General returned an answer.

The address of the committee was read, and, with the answer of the General, ordered to be noticed on the journal.

General: We are a Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, charged with the office of informing you of the passage of an act, a copy of which we now present. You will perceive, from this act, Sir, that the two Houses of Congress, aware of the large pecuniary as well as other sacrifices which your long and arduous devotion to the cause of freedom has cost you, have deemed it their privilege to reimburse a portion of them as having been incurred in part on account of the United States. The principles which have marked your character will not permit you to oppose any objection to the discharge of so much of the national obligation to you as admits of it. We are directed to express to you the confidence as well as request of the two Houses of Congress, that you will, by an acquiescence in their wishes in this respect, add another to the many signal proofs you have offered of your esteem for a people whose esteem for you can never cease until they have ceased to prize the liberty they enjoy, and to venerate the virtues by which it was acquired. We have only to subjoin an expression of our gratification in being the organs of this communication, and of the distinguished personal respect with which we are, your obedient servants,

S. SMITH,
ROBERT Y. HAYNE,
D. BOULIGNY, *Committee of the Senate.*
W. S. ARCHER,
S. VAN RENSSELAER,
PHILIP S. MARKLEY, *Committee of the H. of R.*

Washington, January 1, 1825.

To this address of the Committee, the General returned the following answer:

Gentlemen of the Committee of both Houses of Congress:

The immense and unexpected gift, which, in addition to former and considerable bounties, it has pleased Congress to confer upon me, calls for the warmest acknowledgments of an old American soldier, an adopted son of the United States, two titles dearer to my heart than all the treasures in the world.

However proud I am of every sort of obligation received from the people of the United States, and their Representatives in Congress the large extent of this benefaction might have created in my mind feeling of hesitation, not inconsistent, I hope, with those of the most grateful reverence. But the so very kind resolutions of both Houses, delivered by you, gentlemen, in terms of equal kindness, precludes all other sentiments except those of the lively and profound gratitude of which, in respectfully accepting the munificent favor, I have the honour to beg you will be the organs.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to join a tender of my affectionate personal thanks to the expression of the highest respect, with which I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LA FAYETTE.

The following anecdote of the General serves to shew his modesty, candour, and attachment to republican economy :—

A member of Congress, conversing with the General on the proceedings of Congress, and delicately apologising for the opposition which the appropriation in his favor had experienced in that body, the General, with great *naivette*, and never-failing presence of mind, interrupted him with this happy remark : " I, Sir, *am one of the opposition.* The gift is so munificent, so far exceeding the services of the individual, that had I been a member of Congress, I must have voted against it."

APPENDIX.

Account of General La Fayette's journey through the United States, in 1824.*

There probably is not, in the records of history, an instance where any individual, of whatever rank, ever received the united, spontaneous, and universal applause, which the Americans bestowed on La Fayette. Nor is it at all probable that there ever again will be a similar instance. The circumstances of the case are so peculiar as to form a chain of relations, altogether without the bounds of probability. A young man of fortune, leaves his wife, family and country, and crosses oceans at his own expense, to subject himself to all the horrors and perils of war, for the abstract love of liberty. He escaped not only the hazards of the American revolution, but was preserved during that, which deluged his own country in blood. During this time a price was set on his head. He underwent for years all the privations and exposures of a loathsome dungeon—and after his release; he was exposed, as a known republican, to all the machinations of that reign of blood.

Meantime the Americans, instead of being tributary colonies, as he found us forty-five years since, had become, in territory, riches, population, and commerce, one of the powerful nations of the earth.

Taking all these circumstances together, an occasion similar to the arrival of La Fayette in the United States, has never yet occurred.

It has already been stated, that he came in the ship Cadmus, Capt. Allen, and arrived in the harbour of New-York, on the 15th of August. On the next day, preparations having been made to receive him at the city,

" At an early hour, the whole city was in motion; almost every man, woman and child was preparing to witness the landing of their much respected guest. The shops and stores were closed, and all business was suspended for the day. The ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, and the display of the national flag, at all public places and on board the shipping, proclaimed that it was a day of joy, in which all were anxious to partake. Before 12 o'clock, the battery, the adjoining wharves and every place commanding a view of the passage from Staten Island, were crowded to excess. It was supposed there were nearly 50,000 persons upon the battery, including the troops. This elegant promenade, since its enlargement, is said to be capable of holding nearly the whole population of the city, (130,000,) but a large portion of the front was occupied by the brigade of artillery and other troops. The castle garden, almost contiguous to the battery, and its gallery, were also crowded by the citizens.

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* For this account, we must, of course, depend chiefly on the Newspapers published at the time; but it was unnecessary to give the name of each paper from which extracts are made.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock, a large steam ship, manned with about 200 United States seamen, and decorated with the flags of every nation, sailed for Staten Island. She was followed by six large steam boats, all crowded with passengers, decorated with flags, and enlivened by bands of music. In one of these, which exhibited only flags of the United States and of the State of New York, proceeded the committee of arrangements of the city, the officers of the United States army and navy, the general officers of the militia, the committee of the Society of Cincinnati, &c. On board this steam boat General La Fayette embarked at Staten Island, for the city, at about one o'clock. This was announced by a salute from the largest steam ship, manned by the national troops, and from fort La Fayette. The procession then moved for the city, and presented to its inhabitants a most beautiful and magnificent scene. About two o'clock the General landed at the battery, where he was received by a salute from the troops, and the hearty and reiterated cheers of the immense throng which had assembled to welcome him to our shores.

It is impossible fully to describe the enthusiasm of joy which pervaded and was expressed by the whole multitude. Here the General had a fair specimen of the affection and respect, which is felt for him by every individual of this extended country. He seemed much moved by these expressions of attachment, and bowed continually to the people who pressed about him After resting a few moments at the castle garden, he proceeded in an elegant barouche drawn by four horses, escorted by the dragoons and troops, through Broadway to the City Hall. The windows, balconies, and even the roofs of the houses were filled with ladies, all welcoming the General as he passed, by their smiles and waving of handkerchiefs.

At about 4 o'clock, the procession arrived at the City Hall, where General La Fayette was received by the Mayor and Common Council, and formally welcomed and congratulated on his safe arrival in the country. After receiving the marching salute of the troops in front of the City Hall, he was conducted to the City Hotel, where he dined with the members of the corporation. In the evening, the front of the City Hotel, and many other adjoining buildings, were handsomely illuminated. The theatres and public gardens displayed transparencies, fire-works and rockets in honor of the occasion "—The committee of the Cincinnati waited on General La Fayette, at Staten Island, and were received by him with peculiar marks of affection and friendship. The committee consisted of several field officers of the revolutionary army, some of whom were upwards of eighty years of age.

The following is the address of the Mayor of New York, to General La Fayette, when he arrived at the city Hall .

In the name of the municipal authority of the city, I bid you a sincere welcome to the shores of a country, of whose freedom and happiness you will ever be considered one of the most honoured and beloved founders. Your contemporaries in arms, of whom indeed but few remain, have not forgot, and their prosperity will never forget the young and gallant *Frenchman*, who consecrated his youth, his talents, his fortune and his exertions to their cause; who exposed his life, who shed his blood, that they might be free and happy. They will recollect with profound emotions, so long as they remain worthy of the liberties they enjoy, and of the exertions you made to obtain them, that you came to them in the darkest period of their struggle; that you linked your fortune with theirs, when it seemed almost hopeless; that you shared in the dangers, privations and sufferings of that bitter struggle; nor quitted them for a moment till it was consummated on the glorious field of Yorktown. Half a century has elapsed since that great event, and in that time your name has become as dear to the friends, as it is inseparably connected with the cause of freedom, both in the old and in the new world.

The people of the United States look up to you as to one of their most honored parents—the country cherishes you as one of the most beloved of her sons. I hope and trust, Sir, that not only the present, but the future conduct of my countrymen, to the latest period of time, will, among other slanders, refute the unjust imputation, that republics are always ungrateful to their benefactors.

In behalf of my fellow citizens of New York, and speaking the warm and universal sentiments of the whole people of the United States, I repeat their welcome to our common country."

To this address, General La Fayette made the following reply.

"Sir,

"While I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore, after so long an absence: the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions, no more to be found on this land; the pleasure to recognize those who survive; the immense concourse of a free republican population, who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops; the presence of a corps of the national navy; have excited sentiments, to which no language is adequate. You have been pleased, Sir, to allude to the happiest times, the unalloyed enjoyment of my public life. It is the pride of my heart to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add, that upwards of forty years ago I was honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Sir; I beg you gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my profound and everlasting gratitude, devotion and respect."

On the two following days, a great number of the citizens of New-York and its vicinity, were introduced to the General. He received also, addresses from the Society of the Cincinnati; from the Historical Society—visited the navy yard, and went on board the Washington, 74. On Thursday, addresses from the Frenchmen residing in the city of New-York, and from the gentlemen of the Bar were preented to him.

Heving remained four days in New York, during which time an immense number of citizens, ladies as well as gentlemen, of all ages and classes, were introduced to him, and had the pleasure of touching his hand. His reception of the veterans of the revolution, with whom he had been associated, during their struggle for freedom was peculiarly touching. He embraced them all with emotion, and in some instances in silence. Gen. La Fayette left New-York for Boston on the 21st. While there, he had received invitations from Philadelphia, Albany, New-Haven, and Hartford, to visit those cities, but he had made his arrangements previously, to be in Boston at the commencement of the Cambridge University, and therefore could not with propriety delay his visit there. His route lay through New-Haven, New-London, and Providence. The General's suite consisted of George Washington La Fayette, his son; M. Le Vasseur, his friend, who came with him from France, and four Aldermen of the city of New York. The corporation of the city provided him with an elegant carriage, to convey him to Boston. The inhabitants of New Haven expected that La Fayette would arrive at that city on Friday afternoon; but such was the immense number of persons of all ranks, who came to congratulate him at whatever place it was expected he would stop, that his arrival was delayed until Saturday morning. At New Rochelle, where he stopped to take refreshments, a salute of 19 guns was fired, and a great crowd of citizens had collected to receive him. At White Plains, a mast was erected on each side of the road, bearing a striped pendant suspended between them, on which was written *La Fayette*. Near the place where General Putnam dashed down the rocks, an elegant arch was thrown over the road, bearing this inscription:

"THIS ARCH,
On the hill rendered memo-
rable by the BRAVE PUTNAM,
is erected in honour of the illustrious
MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE;
The early and distinguished Champion of
American Liberty, and the tried
FRIEND OF WASHINGTON.

When the General arrived at the line of Connecticut, a troop of horse was ready to receive and escort him, and the citizens had assembled to welcome him to their state.

At every village, salutes, triumphal arches, or addresses were prepared for him.

Having arrived at Bridgeport, between 11 and 12 o'clock on Friday evening, the General stopped for the night. At an early hour on Saturday morning, he departed for New Haven amid the discharge of artillery, the ringing of bells, and the acclamation of the people.

On Saturday morning the General was met five miles from New Haven, by a company of horse guards, and escorted to the city where he arrived at 10 o'clock. On arriving at the intersection of George and Church Streets, he was received with three hearty cheers by the citizens, which were re-echoed and repeated by the people along the lines to Morse's Hotel, where the General and his suite was received by the Mayor and other public authorities.

After receiving the congratulations of a great number of citizens, some of whom came forty miles to see him, visiting the College, breakfasting with the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, reviewing the troops on the green, and calling on a number of the distinguished citizens, the General took his departure by the way of East Haven, Saybrook and Lyme, to New London. At every town on the road he was received with some new mark of kindness or distinction. Every place where he was expected vied with that he had last left in the bestowment of some varied honours. Having reached New London, it being the Sabbath, he attended divine service at two different places of public worship, and having called on the mother and family of the late lamented Commodore Perry, he left that city for Providence. where he arrived on Monday the 23d at 12 o'clock. The Governor of Rhode Island had sent his aids to meet him at the boundary of the state, and escort him to the capital. When he arrived within the limits of Providence, he found the whole city had come forward to meet and congratulate him. Having moved forward amid the cheers of the multitude, with which the streets were crowded, he alighted at the Court House. The avenue leading to the building was lined with female youth, dressed in white, holding in their hands branches of flowers, which they strewed in his path, at the same time waving their white handkerchiefs. La Fayette appeared much gratified and affected by this simple but touching arrangement. In the senate chamber he was received by the Governour, and many gentlemen of distinction were introduced to him. Among others were several officers who had served in the army of the Revolution, and some of them were known to him. These he embraced with great emotion. One of them, Capt. Olney, he knew instantly, though he was among the crowd. This gentleman had commanded a company under the General, at the siege of Yorktown, and was the first to force the redoubts thrown up by the

British troops, and which were taken by assault. (See the preceding volume, p. 175.)

"At this interview so affecting and interesting, a thrill ran through the whole assembly, and not a dry eye was to be found among the throng of spectators; while the shouts of the multitude, at first suppressed, and then uttered in a manner tempered by the scene, evinced the deep feeling and proud associations it had excited." Another aged veteran was introduced to the General, who had passed his 85th year, and who had served under him. The decrepit old gentleman was overjoyed once more to behold his beloved General before he sunk *into his grave.*

La Fayette, to fulfil the expectations of the citizens of Boston, was compelled to leave Providence on the afternoon of the same day on which he arrived.

At Pautucket, six miles from Providence, and the frontier of Massachusetts, he was met by the aids of Governor Eustis of that state. At Dedham, where he arrived at eleven o'clock at night, he found the village handsomely illuminated, and the people anxious for his approach. Here he staid a short time, and was introduced to many of the inhabitants. At Roxbury, his approach was announced by the discharge of artillery, and the ascent of rockets.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 23d, he alighted at the residence of Governour Eustis in Boston.

The annunciation of his arrival at the seat of the Governour, put every thing in activity, for the prompt execution of the arrangements of the city council for his hearty welcome. The various bodies designated to compose the procession, and perform the honours of the day, assembled at an early hour and at the time appointed.

The General was met at the Roxbury line, by a cavalcade consisting of the City authorities in carriages, preceded by the Assistant City Marshal, where he was addressed by the Hon. Mr. Quincy, Mayor of Boston, as follows:

"Sir—The Citizens of Boston welcome you on your return to the United States; mindful of your early zeal in the cause of American Independence, grateful for your distinguished share in the perils and glories of its achievment.—When urged by a generous sympathy, you first landed on these shores, you found a people engaged in an arduous and eventful struggle for liberty with apparently inadequate means, and amidst dubious omens. After a lapse of nearly half a century, you find the same people prosperous beyond all hope and all precedent; their liberty secure; sitting in its strength; without fear and without reproach.

In your youth you joined the standard of three millions of people, raised in an unequal and uncertain conflict. In your advanced age you return and are met by ten millions of people, their descendants, whose hearts throng hither to greet your approach and rejoice in it.

This is not the movement of a turbulent populace, excited by the fresh laurels of some recent conqueror. It is a grave, moral, intellectual impulse.

A whole people in the enjoyment of freedom as perfect as the condition of our nature permits, recur with gratitude, increasing with the daily increasing sense of their blessings, to the memory of those, who, by heir labors, and in their blood, laid the foundation of our liberties.

Your name, Sir,—the name of La Fayette, is associated with the most perilous, and most glorious periods of our Revolution:—with the imperishable names of Washington, and of that numerous host of heroes which adorn the proudest archives of American history, and are engraven in indellible traces on the hearts of the whole American people.

Accept, then, Sir, in the sincere spirit in which it is offered, this simple tribute to your virtues.

Again, Sir, the citizens of Boston bid you welcome to the cradle of American Independence, and to scenes consecrated with the blood shed by the earliest martyrs in its cause."

General La Fayette then rose in his carriage, and made the following reply:

" The emotions of love and gratitude, which I have been accustomed to feel on my entering this city, have ever mingled with a sense of religious reverence for the cradle of *American*, and let me hope it will hereafter be said, of *Universal* Liberty.

" What must be, Sir, my feelings, at the blessed moment, when, after so long an absence, I find myself again surrounded by the good citizens of Boston—where I am so affectionately, so honorably welcomed, not only by old friends, but by several successive generations; where I can witness the prosperity, the immense improvements, that have been the just reward of a noble struggle, virtuous morals and truly republican institutions. I beg of you, Mr Mayor, Gentlemen of the City Council, and all of you, beloved citizens of Boston, to accept the respectful and warm thanks of a heart, which has, for nearly half a century, been particularly devoted to your illustrious city."

The different bodies which were to compose the procession having arrived, they were formed in the following order.

Three Marshals.
A corps of Light Dragoons, commanded by
Capt. Isaac Davis.
A Regiment of Light Infantry composed of
The Boston Fusilleers, Boston Light Infantry,
Winslow Blues, Washington Infantry,
New England Guards, Rangers, and
City Guards, commanded by Capt.
John S. Tyler, acting as Colonel;
A full band of music consisting of thirty-two performers.
Chief Marshal Harris.
Marshal Brooks, Marshal Sargent.
Members of the city council in carriages.

Committee of Arrangement in carriages.
The President of the Common Council in a barouche.
Marshal Roulstone.
GEN. LA FAYETTE.
In a barouche drawn by four white
horses accompanied by the Mayor.
G. W. La Fayette,
M. Le Vasseur and
Col. Colden.
Society of Cincinnati in ten carriages,
Strangers of distinction in carriages,
Two Marshals,
Field and Staff Officers of the Militia,
Two Marshals.
The mounted cavalcade, composed of the Carters, Woodwharfingers and Citizens.
Two Marshals.

In this order the procession entered the city, and passed through the principal streets.

The General, and City authorities, then passed through the Common, on which were placed the pupils of the Public Schools, extending its whole length The misses were dressed in white, and the boys in blue coats, and white pantaloons. All of them wore heads of La Fayette stamped on ribbon as badges. The number was about 2500. Meantime the bells rang and salutes were firing in every direction.

Having visited the children, the General moved with the procession to the State House, where he was welcomed by his Excellency Governour Eustis, who pronounced a pathetic speech, to which the General returned a dignified and appropriate reply.

Arches were thrown across some of the principal streets through which the procession passed. There were two across Washington Street. On one of these was written "1776—WASHINGTON AND LA FAYETTE.—Welcome La Fayette.—A Republic not ungrateful." On the other was written the following lines.

"WELCOME LA FAYETTE."
"The Fathers in glory shall sleep,
Who gather'd with thee in the fight;
But the sons will eternally keep,
The tablet of gratitude bright.
We bow not the neck,
And we bend not the knee,
But our hearts La Fayette,
We surrender to thee."

He was introduced to a great number of the citizens, among whom were many who knew him. Among these was the venerable John Brooks, President of the Society of Cincinnati, and late Governour of Massachusetts. These ancient friends, had a most interesting and affectionate meeting. Many incidents during this scene were calculated to touch the feelings of all who beheld them, and some of them moistened the eye of every witness. One decrepit veteran, on crutches, was recognized by the General as a companion in arms, at the memorable assault at *Yorktown*. Others were recalled to remembrance by events at *Monmouth*, at Brandywine, at West Point, &c. The hands of all these he seized with the most affectionate cordiality, frequently repeating, " *O, my brave Light Infantry*," " *My gallant soldiers*" &c. One inquired " Is my old Colonel Gimat alive ?" " *Alas no*," replied the General. Another introduced himself as one of the only two, who survived of the 2d Regiment of Light Dragoons of the army.

On Friday the Society of Cincinnati waited on General La Fayette, and the President delivered him a very feeling and appropriate address, and received from the General a reply suited to so interesting an occasion.

The General had expressed a particular desire to visit Cambridge, and attend its commencement; and at the appointed time he was escorted there by a company of cavalry, and attended by the Governour and his executive council. On arriving at the College he was addressed in a very appropriate speech by the Reverend and learned President Kirtland. To this he made a short, but complete and comprehensive reply. He was then seated on a distinguished place, and attended the ceremonies of the day. In their literary performances, several of the young gentlemen of the college alluded to the General, and particularly to his early devotion to the cause of liberty, and the part he had taken in achieving the independence of America. He also made a visit to Charlestown, and the navy yard, where he was received with the usual honours and acclamations.

On Monday, agreeably to arrangements, a grand military parade took place in honour of La Fayette. " Monday was indeed a proud day for the soldier-citizens of Boston and vicinity. The orders of the commander in chief, for a review of a portion of our militia in honour of the visit of the surviving Major General of the revolutionary army, our distinguished guest, were executed with promptness and uncommon effect. The day was fine. At an early hour, a superb brigade, composed of five full regiments of infantry, a regiment (six companies) of artillery, and the Salem independent cadets, commanded by Brigadier General Appleton, paraded on the common. Tents and marquees had been pitched for their accommodation, which with the commissary's tent and those of the Suffolk brigade, and the marquees attached to the head quarters, where the independent cadets, commanded by Lieut. Col. Amory did guard duty, exhibited an extensive encampment. At the time the Boston brigade commanded by Brig. Gen. Lyman, and composed of three full regiments of infantry, four companies of artillery, including the Sea Fencibles, and a troop of dragoons also paraded and formed the order of battle at 8 o'clock.

The line nearly filled the borders of our spacious training field, and exhibited a martial spectacle, unequalled in extent, brilliancy and efficiency by any one within our recollection. The corps of cavalry, artillery, and flank companies, were in complete and superb uniform ; and in the whole line of infantry, the troops, with scarcely an exception were in blue coats, with white underclothes, with knapsacks &c. complete. It is estimated that the military force exceeded 6500

Gen. La Fayette on foot, was escorted by the Cadets from his residence, to the State House, where he was received by his Excellency the commander in chief, and suite, and escorted to the Common.

La Fayette was received with loud shouts from the troops along the whole line. He was then saluted by the brigades under Generals Appleton and Lyman, in succession. He then took a position in front of head quarters, and received the marching salute of the whole division.

Experienced judges, foreign as well as native, did justice to the discipline and steadiness of the whole movements. The line being reformed, the troops were dismissed for refreshment, which had been amply provided by the commissary general.

A spacious and well ornamented marquee had been ordered to be erected by the governor on the rising ground of the common for a collation to be given the officers and invited guests.

It exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen here. It was 176 feet long by 66 wide, containing six tables 170 feet long, two plates for 1600 guests. The collation was prepared by Mr. Bradstreet In this marquee Gen. La Fayette, attended by the Governour, together with the field officers, the executive council, the officers of the Cincinnati, civil and judicial officers, foreign consuls, officers of the army and navy, Governour Miller ; the clergy, the city authorities and strangers of distinction, to the number of 1600 partook of a sumptuous entertainment.

The General was escorted to Charlestown on Friday. Great preparations had been made by the citizens for this visit. The streets through which he was to pass were decorated with arches, evergreen and variegated colours, and he was attended by the Governour and suite, Governour Brooks, Boston committee of arrangements, &c. On the bridge, and at the line dividing the towns, he was met by the city authorities of Charlestown, and escorted by a military brigade to Bunker Hill, where the Chairman of the Town Committee, in a very feeling and impressive manner delivered an address, to which the General replied in his usual affectionate manner.

Having received invitations by Committees appointed for this purpose, from Portland, Newport, Haverhill, Newburyport, Plymouth, and from Bowdoin College, to honor each of these places with a visit, the General left Boston, on Tuesday morning for Portsmouth, New Hampshire. His route lay through Chelsea, Lynn, Marblehead, Salem, Newburyport, &c. He was escorted to the northern limit of the city, by the aids of the Governour, and Committee of the city council, distinguished citizens, &c. The Governour's aids attended him to the borders of New Hampshire.

Having received the congratulations and addresses of the inhabitants of Chelsea and Lynn, he arrived at Marblehead to breakfast. Here he was introduced to a great proportion of the inhabitants and among them several veterans, who had distinguished themselves by their naval exploits during the revolution.

At Salem, his reception was such as might have been expected from so populous, wealthy and patriotic a town. When he arrived within its limits, he was met by the authorities, committee of arrangements, &c. and as he approached, an escort was formed, among which was 200 sailors dressed in blue jackets and white trowsers, with badges in their hats. Arches had been prepared, salutes were fired, the bells rang and the whole population assembled to do him honour.

An appropriate address was delivered him, to which he replied in his usual brief, affectionate and satisfactory manner.

To carry La Fayette through every place where he was received by escorts, salutes and addresses, would be to the reader, but a repetition of similar scenes. Wherever he went, he was received with the same glowing enthusiasm. The small towns vied with each other in showing their gratitude, by erecting triumphal arches, firing salutes and assembling together. While the large ones, made immense and costly preparations to honour the "Nation's Guest." With these attempts the General appeared to be equally pleased. A little village which could do no more than give him a gun, and a hearty cheer, or strew his path with flowers, or erect him an arch of evergreens, had honoured him equally with the great city, which had expended thousands to make his entry imposing and magnificent, and from the General received the same grateful acknowledgments.

From Salem La Fayette continued his journey to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Here a cavalcade two miles in length, met and conducted him to Franklin Hall amid the shouts of thousands who had assembled to congratulate him. Several addresses were delivered to him, and a splendid ball was given in the evening in honour of the occasion. He left Portsmouth at 11 o'clock, on Wednesday night, to return to Boston. From Boston he passed through Lexington, Concord, and Bolton, to Worcester. At all these places he was received in the most patriotic and flattering manner, the whole country ringing with salutes and applauses. At Leicester he was addressed by the Reverend Clergyman of the village, from a platform erected for the purpose.

Having remained at Worcester several hours and received the most distinguished marks of gratitude and honour from the inhabitants of that populous and wealthy town, La Fayette continued his rapid journey towards Hartford, Connecticut.

The inhabitants of that city had sent a deputation to Boston, to be informed when his arrival might be expected, and had prepared to receive him on Friday evening. But his entry did not take place until Saturday morning. He was received at the line of the state by a committee, and ten miles from the town, by an escort of the Governour's horse guards. At his entrance into the city a large body of infantry and artillery were ready to salute him, and in the yard of the State House, 800 children wearing badges with the motto, "*Nous vous aimons* La Fayette," had an opportunity of seeing the General. He was addressed by the Governour, and Mayor, and introduced to nearly 100 revolutionary veterans.

Late in the afternoon he took the steam boat for New York. He landed at Middletown, where he was received with every mark of distinction, which gratitude, patriotism, and enterprize could bestow. As the boat passed down the river, every village near its banks were ready, either to fire a salute, to throw up rockets, give him cheers, or illuminate their houses, and some of them to do all. At Lyme, which the boat passed at midnight, a great number of the inhabitants, ladies as well as gentlemen, were waiting in anxious expectation of his arrival.

The General reached New York on Sunday the 5th of September. On the two or three following days he visited the schools in the city, dined with the Cincinnati Society, and with the French gentlemen, in the evening went to the theatre, &c. Meantime there was preparing for him at Castle garden, the most magnificent *fete*, that probably was ever seen in America. The extent of ground occupied for this purpose, was 175 feet in diameter, and of a circular form. A floor was laid, and a gallery encircled the whole. An awning of canvas, supported by pillars 75 feet high, composed the roof of this vast edifice, and it was lighted by an immense and splendid cut glass chandelier, with thirteen smaller ones appended. Six thousand persons attended this ball, and eighty sets of cotillions were frequently on the floor at the same time.

At 10 o'clock the General made his appearance and at half past one, he took his departure in the steam boat for Albany.

At Newburgh where he landed for a short time, 20,000 people had assembled to greet him. At Catskill, and Hudson, he was received with every mark of distinction and joy.

Great preparations had been made for his reception at Albany. The military met and escorted him to town. The city was illuminated He was welcomed and cheered by 40,000 people. A splendid ball was given in his honour, which he attended. On the following day, a great number of the inhabitants had the satisfaction of being introduced to him.

Having visited Troy and the grand canal, he returned to New

York, which place he left again on the 23d of September, for Philadelphia.

He passed through New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, &c. and it is hardly necessary to repeat that at all these places, the people did not fail to show him the same enthusiastic marks of gratitude and distinction which he had so often witnessed at the north.

The Governour of Pennsylvania and suite, met him thirty miles from the capital, with an escort and a splendid barouche drawn by six cream coloured horses for his accommodation. On his approach to Philadelphia, he was saluted with 100 rounds of artillery. Nearly 6000 troops were drawn up to pay him military honours. An immense procession was formed, which consumed six hours in passing from Frankfort to the State House. Only a small number of the different bodies which composed this procession can be enumerated. Three cars of dimensions sufficient to contain 120 revolutionary veterans. Then 400 young men. A car containing a printing press, where the workmen struck off and distributed an ode, on the occasion. Then 300 weavers; 150 ropemakers; 100 shipbuilders; 700 mechanics, professions not enumerated; 150 coopers; 150 butchers mounted; 260 carmen mounted; 300 farmers, &c. &c.

The General alighted at the old State House, and entered the Hall where the declaration of Independence was signed. This Hall contains the Statue of Washington, the portraits of Penn, Franklin, Morris, Hopkinson, Greene, Wayne, Montgomery, Hamilton, Gates, Hancock, Adams, Rochambeau, Carrol, M'Kean, Jefferson, Charles Thompson, Madison, and Monroe.

Gen. La Fayette was addressed by the Mayor of the city, by the Frenchmen residing there, &c. Having spent several days in Philadelphia, the General proceeded south towards Baltimore, where he arrived on the 7th of October. No city through which he had passed gave him a more splendid and cordial reception than this. As usual the military were called out. Processions were formed, the city illuminated, a splendid ball given, a gold medal presented by the young gentlemen, &c.

It is hardly necessary to follow the "Nation's Guest" further.—With the same marks of affection, and joyous enthusiasm he was received at Washington, Georgetown, Yorktown, &c.

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